

# SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

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# SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII: EDITORIAL POLICY

*Social Process in Hawaii* is a journal published annually by the University of Hawaii at Manoa Department of Sociology with the objective of disseminating to scholars, students, and the community the results of outstanding social science research on the people and institutions of Hawaii.

Since its inception, the Department of Sociology has taken the view that the Hawaiian community offers a rich and varied opportunity for observing the interplay of social processes which maintain stability and provoke social change. It is our hope that the journal might stimulate social research in Hawaii, provide materials for instruction of students, and enhance the understanding of the community among those who live and work here.

Contributions are encouraged from University faculty, graduate and undergraduate students in Sociology and other disciplines as well as other knowledgeable persons in the community. Preference will be given to research based upon sound methodologies and systematic evidence. Articles should employ a mid-level of writing and minimize technical terms. The presentation of complex statistical techniques should be kept to a minimum, and where used, should be accompanied by a clear textual description of the technique and its results.

Manuscripts are evaluated by the editors and other referees. Deadline for submission is October 1 and authors will be notified of editorial decisions no later than January 1 for inclusion in the issue published that academic year. Editors may occasionally solicit manuscripts, but in general most selections will be from among unsolicited manuscripts.

Authors interested in submitting manuscripts for consideration should send three copies to SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII, Department of Sociology, Porteus Hall 247, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822. The following guidelines should be observed in preparation of the manuscript:

- 1) Due to space limitations, short articles are preferred. Manuscripts should not exceed 15 double-spaced pages. Photographs, charts and graphs are welcome.
- 2) Preparation of copy and the format for references should follow the guidelines of the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW. In the case of unusual problems consult the Editor.
- 3) Manuscripts submitted to the journal should be of final draft quality; the editor reserves the right to make minor editorial changes.
- 4) The University of Hawaii guidelines for allocating credit for research and writing should be observed.

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## SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII, VOLUME 27, 1979

Editors: Kiyoshi Ikeda and Michael G. Weinstein

Editorial Board:

Monte Broaded, Peter Nelligan, and Eldon L. Wegner

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## FOREWORD

Kiyoshi Ikeda

This 27th issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* reflects on some persistent concerns in approaching the "social situation in Hawaii." At the same time, we hope that the articles selected for publication also reveal different, if not, new perspectives and approaches to the study of life and culture in Hawaii.

Continuity is indexed in both the republication of some earlier articles which honor those persons who have given much of their time and effort to publish and to gather together writers and analysts of life in Hawaii, and in printing student papers which have formed the core of description and interpretation of such living. Professor Andrew Lind describes the early years, in which an energetic band of students, faculty, and "visiting faculty" took to publishing something of value, based on the continuing research of faculty and the efforts of students to provide accurate and sensitive descriptions. We also republish portions of "Community Types in Hawaii" to encourage reflection on stability and change in Hawaiian communities and social relationships encouraged by such forms. Professor Bernhard Hormann in his "Retrospect and Prospect" develops fine detail on how earlier issues were published and the changing institutional context within which this publication continued. The selections from his "The Caucasian Minority" establish a perspective to evaluate contemporary social relationships in Hawaii. The influence of "ethnicity" and "race" on Hawaiian life remains to be systematically described and interpreted. This earlier piece, republished here, should encourage the continuing effort at full and systematic work.

Within this section on "Retrospect," we also publish Professor George Yamamoto's "The Ethnic Lawyer and Social Structure: The Japanese Attorney in Honolulu." We believe that the basic information and analysis provided should encourage more updated research and interpretation on the changing status and functions of professionals who reflect given ethnic backgrounds and experiences. The legal profession, for one, no longer is a "small" community here. The flow of Japanese-American and other persons into the highly complex and differentiated

professional community today requires detailed study and interpretation. As in the case of Professors Lind and Hormann, this type of work suggests continuities in foci and subject matters from an earlier time. At the same time, these analyses suggest continuing efforts which should inform general approaches to the study of society and community living, both in Hawaii and elsewhere.

The types of communities which emerge in Hawaii over time have a significant impact on what kinds of persons and populations are either "sponsored" into Hawaii or are drawn into the opportunities here. At the same time, such opportunities have a significant bearing on how persons of given social and ethnic backgrounds can begin to participate within the emerging social structure within and without the archipelago.

The section on "Local Documentation" has a strong tie to the first efforts by Romanzo Adams, Andrew Lind, Bernhard Hormann, Clarence Glick, and Herbert Blumer, among others in encouraging persons who have direct experience and participation within given social settings to describe, and perhaps analyze on a preliminary basis, such developments. Over the years, such works have been part of reprinted collections, both in published form and in planned reprintings. They draw on local and historical interest because they represent some shred of "reality" shared with many who have lived in Hawaii and elsewhere. Such descriptions may not reflect the full reality, but certainly encourage reflection. Professor Michael Weinstein provides a brief overview; Eric Yamamoto's "The Significance of Local" and Deborah Chang's "Power Politics, and Powerlessness," reveal perspectives from the "inside."

"Current Research" represents ongoing work by faculty and others within the social science community in Hawaii. Topics which have present-day relevance or a more systematic methodology, we find, also have continuity in certain social themes and interests. "Ethnicity and Rape Impact" by Professors Libby Ruch and Susan Chandler focus on societal and organized responses to victims of crime. Professor Milton Bloombaum and Mr. Ted Gugelyk report on a section of their long-term research on leprosy patients and the larger community in Hawaii in "Attitudes toward Leprosy." Professor Larry K. Stephenson and Ms. Amy A. Miyashiro describe and interpret "Rural-Urban Contrasts of Kumiai's in Hawaii" and indicate the functions of mutual aid societies within such communities.

Professor Gary Fuller's "Citizen's Band Radio on Oahu" suggests how new technology in communication is organized by given populations to meet their given interests and needs. A view of how cooperation and conflict develops over "local" and "outsider" and other cross-cutting social ties is obtained in Fuller's analysis. "Current Research" reveals what is "new" in topical interests, and yet also suggests that certain influences and relationships continue to affect and color the conduct of persons and groups within a changing context.

We encourage work on life and culture in Hawaii which can be informative to a broad audience of persons who wish to have some useful handles to ways in which persons and groups adapt to life in Hawaii. A statement on editorial intent and policy in accepting manuscripts for consideration is enclosed on the inside front cover. In future issues, we have some thoughts which are thematic or focused in nature, but encourage persons to suggest such concentrations and bring forth contributions of value and interest.

As a final note, this issue would not have been possible without the active participation of Professor Michael Weinstein, our co-editor. Without his drive and persistence, and careful editorial review, this issue would not have come to fruition. Quality work by Ms. Freda Hellinger also makes possible this 27th issue. The editorial board, with Professor Eldon Wegner, Mr. Peter Nelligan, and Mr. Monte Broaded and earlier assistance by Professors Harry V. Ball, George Yamamoto, and Raymond Sakumoto, were instrumental in providing guidance and editorial assistance. The administrative efforts of Professor Edmund H. Volkart, who as Chairperson of the Department of Sociology, enabled the kind of administrative review and action to permit this republication in 1979, is deeply appreciated.

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII: THE EARLY YEARS

Andrew W. Lind

PART ONE: RETROSPECT

The suggestion of a journal devoted primarily to the "social situation in Hawaii" was dropped somewhat casually in conversation at a Sociology Club dinner in the spring of 1934 by Everett Stonequist, a visiting professor from Skidmore College. The very thought that a small group of about thirty students, primarily undergraduates, could aspire to a venture so ambitious seemed almost absurd at the time, regardless of the support they might obtain from a faculty of three. Once planted, however, the idea that a modest undertaking of that type was at least "worth a try," took hold sufficiently in the minds of some of those present to result in the appearance in May, 1935, of a forty-nine paged mimeographed publication with the title, *Social Process in Hawaii*. The one and only resident candidate for a master's degree in the sociology department, Kum Pui Lai, had been persuaded to take the editorship, and together with a staff of two other graduate students, four undergraduates, and one faculty member, they succeeded in bringing together fifteen short articles dealing with various aspects of Island life, for which they believed there might be an interested reading public.

There was not then or subsequently any expectation of producing a journal primarily for sociologists, but the experience of both students and faculty in sociology had led them to believe that an important segment of the community, particularly social workers, educators, physicians, and other professionals dealing with the multi-cultural people of Hawaii should find interest and benefit from the studies which had been or were being conducted by sociologists in the Islands. The diversities in the practices and standards of the ethnic groups especially were still so great that no one, even with long experience locally, could be expected to be acquainted with all of them.

Students of sociology at the University, particularly at the undergraduate level, had been encouraged to test classroom propositions by observations within their own family, neighborhood or other groupings within the community and to objectify them in written reports, from which the faculty and

others who might read them probably learned as much as the students who wrote them. Thus, seven of the fifteen articles in the first issue were written by undergraduates, three by students in the introductory course dealing with etiquette among Chinese and Japanese immigrants, and another four by students in advanced courses in the department. Other papers were in the nature of summaries of research conducted by graduate students or faculty, and included one by Stonequist, ideas of which were incorporated a few years later in his widely quoted volume, *The Marginal Man*.

A gratifying response from the local community, including editorial commendation in both Honolulu newspapers, led to a second and a third printing, and the decision to attempt publication on an annual basis, utilizing conventional printing form in subsequent issues. The Sociology Club, which included both graduate and undergraduate students, continued to be designated as the publishers of the first twenty issues of *Social Process*--sometimes in collaboration with the Department of Sociology--and after that, jointly with the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory. The editors of all the issues except two were students, including among others the present [1978] Chancellor of the University, for two years when he was a student. Most of the final editing, including the reading of proof, it is true, fell to the lot of one or both of the two principal faculty advisers. It must also be conceded that the modest sale price of fifty cents per copy may have contributed to the early exhaustion of the entire stock of the first ten issues, but the increasing orders from libraries in universities and colleges on the Mainland suggest that the articles had value in wider academic and intellectual circles.

The articles submitted for the earlier issues of *Social Process* covered such a broad range of topics that it was difficult to specify an organizing principle for each issue, except an inclusive one like the Immigrant Heritage, Problems of Assimilation, Social Disorganization, or Wartime Hawaii. The broad-ranging, humanistic interests of the sociologists in Hawaii at that time led them to undertake research which might have been thought to belong properly to other social sciences, but in its absence, articles by sociology students on such topics as Voting, Statehood, Vital Statistics, Occupational Succession on Plantations, Unionization, and Island Speech were accepted and published in *Social Process*. As research

on Hawaii developed in neighboring disciplines, articles began to appear, first only from social work, but later by professional educators, linguists, geographers, anthropologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, economists, political scientists, and ministers of religion.

The presence on the faculty of eminent visiting professors and their contribution of thoughtful articles to the early issues of *Social Process* gave added incentive to the participation by both resident faculty and graduate students. Two of these visiting contributors, Ellsworth Faris and Herbert Blumer of the University of Chicago, either had been or subsequently were elected a president of the American Sociological Association. Everett Stonequist and Edgar Thompson, specialists and authorities on the *Marginal Man* and the Plantation respectively gave special encouragement to *Social Process* during the first few years of its history. Clarence Glick, who later returned as a senior member of the faculty in sociology, was in a sense a visiting professor at the time he wrote the often-quoted article for *Social Process* on Chinese residential dispersion.

Comments on the first issue by two of the earlier visitors to the campus, Edmund Day, Social Science Director of the Rockefeller Foundation, and Robert E. Park, University of Chicago sociologist, both called attention to the special value of such a journal as "a pedagogical device for stimulating interest in students" and to "energize and strengthen classroom work."

During the forty-three years that have passed since the first issue of *Social Process* appeared, striking changes have occurred in both the nature of Island life and the outlook and methods of the scholars interested in its study. Consequently, one would neither expect nor desire the publication in 1979 and later years to assume the same form or necessarily to serve the same functions as the journal of prewar days. These islands, however, will continue to be the special locale--the community laboratory--within which the contributors to *Social Process* will necessarily conduct much of their observation and research, from which their support will largely be derived, and to which an obligation of realistic and scholarly reporting will also be owing.

## SELECTIONS FROM "COMMUNITY TYPES IN HAWAII"

Andrew W. Lind

These selections are from Professor Lind's classic article in the 1959 issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* (volume 23). We are reprinting them here as background for contemporary studies that note the effects of the last twenty years, especially the differentiation of the "urban community" into such further types as the planned suburb (especially Mililani Town, to which Professor Lind served as an adviser in its early development), the town-house neighborhood, the public housing project, even the large high-rise building as a community, and the more traditional urban neighborhoods newly affected by the growth of shopping malls, mass transportation access, and extreme increases in land values.

The Editors

Part of the fascination as well as the frustration of Hawaii as a laboratory for the social scientist is a consequence of the striking diversity of community types to be found within the 6,400 square miles of these Islands. There are few, if any, other regions in the world which present within so limited a land area such striking contrasts in the forms of the communities which have been produced. Less than two centuries ago, Hawaii emerged from a stone-age type of culture and there are still vestiges of that culture which influence the tempo and temper of life in some of our more remote villages. On the other hand, during the past one hundred years, Hawaii has become so thoroughly integrated within the modern world economy that its major city, Honolulu, appears to many observers like just another, although smaller, American city and not essentially different from San Francisco, Seattle, or New York.

For those who wish to penetrate beneath the external appearances, and particularly for those concerned with an effective relationship to our local world, it becomes important to understand both the diversity as well as the unity of the Island community. As one views the major economic trends operating within these Islands during the past 180 years, certainly the dominant impression is that of a shift from a series of isolated, subsistence communities scattered chiefly

along the coastlines of the several islands to a standardized Western type of community, varying only in size and minor degree from one end of the Island chain to the other. Unquestionably the one clear development throughout the area since the time of the early sandalwood traders has been in the direction of a community pattern dominated by commerce and trade (Lind, 1938, Ch. I, xiii). It is equally apparent, however, that various routes have been followed and consequently numerous variations on a major theme have resulted.

It is the purpose of this paper to indicate the more important types of communities which have emerged and to outline some of the significant characteristics of each. For purposes of preliminary analysis, it may be useful to conceive of these community types within a continuum from the least thoroughly Westernized to the one which has been most completely integrated within the emerging world community of trade and commerce. Five principal types of communities, with numerous sub-types, suggest themselves for consideration in this review --the isolated subsistence type, the independent farming community, the plantation, the military post, the urban community, of which there are perhaps the most numerous variations. No single criterion, such as population size or density, sex, age, or ethnic distribution within the population, source of livelihood, or geographical location, affords an adequate index of the community type, although certain combinations of these factors can be readily recognized in each.

## Hawaiian Subsistence Communities

Significant survivals of the old Hawaiian community pattern are still to be found, especially in the areas least suitable for modern agriculture or commerce. Scattered over all the major islands are small settlements, made up predominantly of Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians who are engaged in a type of life which approximates the old indigenous order most nearly of any now prevailing in the Islands. Many of these communities are too small to be even recorded as villages in the decennial census enumerations. The few which were listed in the census in 1950 had populations usually of less than one hundred each, of which three were in South Kona on the Island of Hawaii: Hookena with only twenty residents, Milolii with ninety-five, and Napoopoo with 103. Kalapana,

with sixty inhabitants, in the Puna district on the Big Island, was also listed, as were Waipio also on Hawaii with ninety-five, Pukoo on Molokai with forty-two, and Keanae in the Hana district of Maui with fifty-four. Several larger areas, including the entire Island of Niihau, the eastern portion of the Island of Molokai, the greater part of the Hana district on the Island of Maui, and the outlying portions of North and South Kona on Hawaii, are too rocky and barren to attract Western industry or agriculture, and the sparse and scattered settlements have therefore continued to consist chiefly of native Hawaiians, deriving their livelihood much as their ancestors did many generations ago--from the sea and the soil immediately at hand.

\* \* \* \*

With the passage of time, there is a tendency for such communities to acquire increasingly the hall-marks of standardized American settlements, with a greater dependence upon commercial fishing, plantation agriculture, or work for the government as a source of income, and a greater presence of Western material comforts in the form of automobiles, refrigerators, radios, and washing machines. Along with the spread of such evidences of civilization into these isolated communities, there occurs a perceptible breakdown of the traditional moral and religious beliefs and practices of the Hawaiian people.

Important remnants of the old order nevertheless have remained, sometimes in the form of the enlarged family and its widespread adoptive and *punaluuan* variants, and sometimes in the belief in and practice of sorcery and magic. Many of the younger members of the community are attracted to the cities and towns by the greater material opportunities which they afford. This is further confirmed by the striking decline in the population of most of these villages since World War II. Thus the Hawaiian subsistence type of community is becoming more and more of a rarity and it is quite possible that within another decade or two they will have completely disappeared as functioning entities.

#### Hawaiian Homesteading Communities

Closely related to the isolated subsistence type of community in important respects, although

differing markedly in others, is the Hawaiian homesteading community. In 1957, just thirty-six years after the signing of the Act of Congress providing special homestead rights for persons "having fifty per cent or more of Hawaiian blood," there were somewhat more than ten thousand persons on homestead lands, scattered over the major islands of the group.

In contrast to the subsistence communities, however, which have developed spontaneously among the native Hawaiians, the homesteading communities have been artificially created for persons of Hawaiian ancestry, conceiving of them more or less as wards of the state. Even Prince Kuhio, who introduced the Act creating the Hawaiian Homes Commission in 1921, gave support to the prevailing impression that the natives would lose out in the competitive struggle unless given support from the government.

We are gradually losing out in the business and political jobs and the only place left for us is on these rehabilitation lands and if we do not get in and work and think for ourselves we will be lost. (Keesing, 1936, p. 1)

Although the early promoters obviously endorsed Kuhio's expectations that the Hawaiian homesteading ventures would encourage the natives to "get out in the sun and the rain and dig in the soil," to become as their "ancestors, ... farmers and fishermen," most of the demands for homesteads have occurred on the most urbanized island of Oahu.

Somewhat more than 60 per cent of the Hawaiian homesteaders in 1957 were concentrated on Oahu, at Papakolea-Kewalo in Honolulu proper, at Waimanalo, a suburb of Honolulu, and at Nanakuli in rural Oahu. The next largest group of 472 homesteaders representing 2,582 persons, or slightly more than a quarter of the total number, were established on the Big Island, at Keaukaha in the growing of passion fruit, macadamia nuts, taro, bananas, papayas, coffee, and vegetables, and at Waimea, primarily in livestock production. Most of the remaining 15 per cent of the homesteading population were residents of the "Lonely Island," Molokai, where much of the homestead land has been contracted for the cultivation of pineapples, which guarantees each homesteader a minimum income of \$70.00 per month, in addition to



taxes. A small homesteading housing development has occurred in the Anahola district of Kauai.

\* \* \* \*

### Independent Farming Communities

Although the great majority of the immigrants to Hawaii were introduced to the Islands as workers on the plantations, the principal motivation for many of them to remain in Hawaii after the termination of their contract was the prospect of securing possession of land of their own. Having been born and nurtured in a peasant environment, where land constitutes the foundation of all wealth and the source of whatever is holy and good, it was quite natural that many of the immigrants should have placed land high in their scale of values in the new setting, and that they should have sought to establish communities as nearly comparable as possible with those they had left behind in their homeland.

Small-scale, diversified farming in Hawaii is, of course, as old as human settlement in these Islands, but the modern independent farming community, producing a surplus for sale, is a relatively recent development, dating back at most to the middle of the last century. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, the peasant immigrants, especially from China and Japan, and joined later by those from Korea and the Philippines, sought out the available farming lands, not already appropriated by the plantations, and began to establish little peasant communities of their own.

Some of those established in the eighties and nineties of the last century, especially by the Chinese immigrants, were very much like the plantation communities, which they had recently left, except that the managers of the new communities were of their own ethnic group rather than Caucasians. Thus the rice-growing communities of Chinese on Oahu and Kauai had many of the same characteristics as the sugar plantations which the workers had recently left, although greater opportunity for the perpetuation of old-country traditions was provided in the one-crop communities directed by members of their ethnic group.

It was especially in the diversified farming communities which began to appear during the present

century that some close approximation to peasant controls could most readily develop. Even though a single crop such as rice, coffee, bananas, papayas, or macadamia nuts were cultivated, and even though it was on leased land, insofar as the individual cultivators had some degree of independence of action, there was the basis of such a specialized "peasant" community. Thus a considerable number of such farming communities have emerged, scattered over the four major islands and associated with such names as Kona, Kamuela, and Volcano-Glenwood of the Big Island, Kula and Haiku on Maui, Kaneohe, Kahaluu, Wahiawa, and Pearl Harbor on Oahu, and Wailua and Kalaheo on Kauai.

The overwhelming majority of the small farmers in Hawaii during the past fifty years have been of Japanese ancestry and the small farming communities have therefore reflected chiefly the culture of Japan, as that has been modified within the Hawaiian setting. Thus, in the reports of the past four decennial censuses of agriculture in Hawaii, the Japanese have always constituted more than 50 per cent of the farm operators, even though that term also includes the operators of cattle ranches, plantations, and subsistence farms. In 1950, for example, there were 5,750 "farms" reported to the Census, 3,839 or 66.8 per cent of which were operated by Japanese, and of the moderately valued farms, whose products were worth between \$2,500 and \$10,000 in 1949, the Japanese operators made up more than 80 per cent.

The external appearance of the independent farming communities in Hawaii might lead one to question whether there really was any community at all. The homes are frequently widely separated and sometimes, as in Kona, enclosed by trees which shut off any view of one's neighbors. Physical as well as social isolation is therefore a central fact of these communities, which even the widespread extension of the various mass media cannot entirely eliminate. The sense of being shut off from the world and all the stimulation it has to offer is unquestionably a major basis of the heavy exodus of young people from these areas to the cities and towns as their further education affords them knowledge of "what they are missing." On the other hand, the promise of freedom from external restraints, whether of bosses on plantations, the gossip of neighbors, or even of immediate family responsibilities, has been chiefly responsible for the influx of residents to these communities and a certain disposition to maintain the isolation of the independent farming areas.

Owing to the high proportion of leased or rented land in the regions devoted to small-scale farming in Hawaii, there is a high proportion of old and dilapidated housing in these areas. Although census data are not separately available for this type of community, repeated observations confirm the impression of poorer housing--outdoor privies, inferior construction, lack of running water--as compared with most other types of communities. It is significant that the seven census tracts reporting the lowest median rentals in 1950--less than \$15 per month--were all predominantly of the small farming or subsistence variety. There was likewise a tendency for such tracts to report high proportions of their homes with "no private bath or no running water."

\* \* \* \*

#### The Ranching Community

The cattle ranch is best conceived sociologically as intermediate between the plantation and the small farm, in the sense that it affords greater freedom of movement and democracy in social relationships than on plantation and less than on the small farm. The ranch shares with the plantation in being commonly a large landed estate, which employs workers for the performance of tasks which the owner or his family cannot do alone. The workers or "hands" on the ranch, however, differ from the plantation hands, at least during the early history of the plantation, in being fewer in number, possessing somewhat greater occupational skill, and of associating with their bosses and employers on a more informal and democratic basis.

It is true that a large proportion of the four hundred cattle ranches in Hawaii are operated as family enterprises. According to a 1948 survey by the Agricultural Extension Service, 86 per cent of the cattle ranches were family-operated with less than two full-time hired hands each, but more than 85 per cent of the cattle were raised on the remaining 14 per cent of the ranches (Philipp, 1953, p. 135). A sample study in the same survey indicated that the "majority of ranchers were of Caucasian ancestry," the large ranches being directed by Haoles and the smaller family-sized ranches by Portuguese, while nearly one-fourth of the operators were Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians, and only one-seventh were of Oriental ancestry.

The greatest number of cattle ranches and the largest ranching communities are located on the

island of Hawaii, although sizable communities are also found on all the other major islands. Niihau is the only island devoted entirely to ranching. Some of the more extensive ranching operations are conducted as adjuncts of sugar or pineapple plantations, in which case the ranching community becomes essentially a plantation community.

A study of Hawaii's largest cattle ranch, owned by a Part-Hawaiian but managed by a Haole, revealed an enterprise involving somewhat less than two hundred employees, the majority of the cowboys being Hawaiians and Part-Hawaiians, along with a few Portuguese and Japanese (Jessen, 1949). Housing for the employees and their families is provided by the ranch, with single men living in barracks-type facilities, comparable to those on the plantations. Ranch paternalism, not essentially different from that of the plantations of earlier days, appears in the form of a ranch store, with very low prices on milk and meat for ranch employees, a community hall for social affairs, gifts at Christmas time, and luaus on other special occasions. The absence of unions or of active concern in politics are perhaps a natural consequence.

\* \* \* \*

#### The Plantation Community

The numerous sugar and pineapple plantations, which for some sixty years afforded the bulk of Hawaii's economic support, consist not only of broad fields of growing crops and the factories and offices but also of the extensive areas for the homes of the workers and of the institutions that go to make up the plantation communities. Each of the twenty-seven sugar plantations and the nine pineapple companies of Hawaii has one or more residential communities and most of them have several, ranging in size from a dozen or fifteen persons to several thousand persons. Somewhat more than half of the 89 cities, towns, and villages listed in the 1950 census of population were either wholly or largely plantation communities. The islands of Lanai, Molokai, Kauai, and Maui, in that order, reported the heaviest concentration of their population in plantation communities, with Hawaii, Oahu, and Niihau, in order, showing the least.\*

\*The proportion of the employed population engaged on sugar and pineapple "farms" by islands in 1950 was as follows: Lanai, 76.7 per cent; Molokai, 43.4 per cent; Kauai, 37.2 per cent; Maui, 30.4 per cent; Hawaii, 28.1 per cent; Oahu, 3.7 per cent; and Niihau, 0.0 per cent.

An annual census on the sugar plantations of the Islands indicates that in July, 1957, the 16,000 employees, together with dependents, made up communities numbering nearly 50,000 persons, or about one twelfth of the total civilian population. On the island of Kauai, the sugar workers and dependents made up 38.2 per cent of the total population, on the island of Maui, the ratio was 31.7 per cent, on Hawaii it was 28 per cent, and on Oahu, it was a mere 2.3 per cent.

A basic requirement of the plantation for its functioning in the production of any agricultural crop is a steady supply of dependable workers, and to meet that requirement the plantations of Hawaii have expended many millions of dollars over the past one hundred years. Not only was it necessary to import workers from foreign lands, but it was also necessary at the outset to house, clothe, and feed them, as well as provide for most of their physical and spiritual needs. Thus plantation communities, including housing for single persons and families, stores, recreational centers, and churches and temples, began to appear almost as soon as the fields for the growing of the crops.

Having invested such large sums of money in recruiting and providing for their labor, the plantations necessarily wished to conserve their investment. This was accomplished in part by selecting their workers from a number of sharply contrasted areas, so as to prevent any one group from exercising undue control over the supply. As a further means of conserving their investment in labor, the planters found it expedient to create separate "camps" for the different racial groups, with corresponding facilities appropriate to each. Thus, the Japanese camp might be built with separate family units, rather than the dormitory or barracks-type of accommodations which were more commonly provided for the single men in the Chinese or Filipino camps. Similarly, a *furo* (hot bath), a Shinto shrine, a Buddhist Temple, and a language school might be built in a Japanese camp in response to the cultural expectations of the immigrant laborers, whereas none of these particular facilities would be desired in a Filipino or Puerto Rican camp.

The need for separate racial camps obviously diminished as the immigrant workers become better accommodated to the new community, although the tendency to remain in the familiar and friendly surroundings continues long after the initial requirements have been met. Thus Japanese camps still remain on

most of the sugar and pineapple plantations, even though the immigration of Japanese laborers ceased more than fifty years ago, and of picture brides, nearly thirty-five years ago.

\* \* \* \*

Most notably on the island of Oahu, but increasingly on Maui and more slowly on Kauai and Hawaii, plantation villages and hamlets are giving place to urban centers, with all their benefits as well as their vices. (For an exhaustive account of a pineapple plantation community, see Norbeck, 1959.)

#### The Military Post

Hawaii's mounting significance as a major military bastion in the Pacific has added a new dimension to the community life of the Islands. Although Pearl Harbor has been an important consideration in American interest in Hawaii, at least since 1876, it was not until after Annexation that a separate military community began to emerge. Several military establishments, including Schofield Barracks, Pearl Harbor Naval Station, Fort Shafter and Fort Armstrong--all on Oahu--had appeared before World War I, but it was after 1920 that the major military potential was developed. The census of 1920 revealed only 3,860 soldiers, sailors, and marines in Hawaii, but by 1930 this figure had increased to 15,862. No definite figures were reported in the censuses of 1940 and 1950, but by simple calculations from the published returns, a figure in the vicinity of 29,000 persons in the armed services is reached for 1940 and of 19,209 for 1950.

The military personnel, now numbering in the vicinity of 56,000, with an additional 21,000 civilian defense workers, is almost wholly concentrated on the island of Oahu. Of the 84 census tracts on Oahu in 1950, eleven in the Pearl Harbor, Hickam Field, Schofield, and Kaneohe areas reported heavy concentrations of persons from the various armed services--army, navy, air force, marines, and coast guard. In the period since 1950, there have been several significant expansions, such that 14.2 per cent of the land area on Oahu is now devoted to defense purposes, and the expenditures of the armed forces, amounting to \$327,000,000 in 1958 now constitute the largest source of income to the Islands (Bank of Hawaii, 1959).

The larger defense establishments constitute self-sufficient communities, where every possible need and

interest of the residents, with one or two possible exceptions, are anticipated by the federal government. Restaurants, shopping centers, commissaries, housing, schools, hospitals, theaters, recreation centers, churches, libraries, and social clubs--these are among the numerous institutions and services which are commonly provided on the larger military posts and which relieve the residents from the necessity of ever leaving the post.

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### The Urban Community

It was suggested earlier in this article that the one major theme in the evolution of the various community types in Hawaii has been the expansion of a standardized Western type of community in which trade and commerce constitute the organizing basis of life. It could be argued that Hawaii has become overwhelmingly an urban area in which all other types of communities are steadily being supplanted by towns and cities. Judging by the simple criterion of statistical growth, this would certainly appear to be the case. Honolulu, for example, as the dominant city of the region since early in the last century, had grown in population from 39,000, or 26 per cent of the total population of the region in 1900, to 248,000 in 1950, with an additional 11,000 in its suburbs on the windward side of the island, representing roughly 52 per cent of the entire population of the Territory. Conservative estimates place the population of Honolulu city, excluding the windward suburbs, on July 1, 1959 at 321,600 or 53.8 per cent of the entire civilian population of the new state.

Some competent observers of the Hawaiian social scene insist that the entire island of Oahu has become an urban area, as was partially implied by its classification as a Standard Metropolitan Area in 1950 by the U.S. Census. At that time, Oahu, representing less than one tenth of the entire land area of all the islands, provided the place of residence for 70.6 per cent of the population, and by 1959 it was estimated that 80 percent of all the people of the state were residents of Oahu. The marked reduction after 1940 in the number of sugar plantations on the island from seven to four and the conversion of the vacated land to residence, vegetable raising, dairying, or defense purposes is indicative of the rate of urbanization on the island.

Quite clearly, however, the influence of the city extends far beyond the areas of highly concentrated

population or even what is ordinarily thought to be the suburbs of the city. The significance of the city in organizing the life of the region is measured rather in the continuous movement of people and goods between the urban centers and the hinterlands, the economic, political, and intellectual controls exercised by cities over the surrounding countryside, and the parallel flow of ideas through the press, radio, television, and institutions, such as the school and church. The elaboration of these processes with respect to Hawaii, and particularly to indicate what they involve in the lives of the people, is much too complex to undertake within the limits of this article. Some of the major consequences of urbanization, in terms of the undermining of traditional values and ways of life, the emphasizing of individual and personal satisfactions and ambitions to the exclusion of family or institutional goals and welfare, and the substitution of fashion for moral controls, have been briefly sketched in the discussion of other community types.

Increasingly, urban life in Hawaii is assuming the character of life in any American city. With mounting air and surface contacts with Continental United States and the rest of the world, Honolulu inevitably acquires more and more of the standardized appearance and character of any large city around the world. This is a source of disappointment to some tourists who hope to find a South Seas Shangri-la, of which Honolulu appears only to provide the gentle climate and the back-drop of striking land and sea-scapes. Actually there are in and around Honolulu and the other cities of Hawaii a considerable variety of smaller communities--neighborhoods, "camps," and suburbs which have evolved from the peculiar circumstances of life and which merit separate consideration.

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Concluding Comments, 1979

This article was written twenty years ago, just prior to Hawaii's attainment of Statehood and the subsequent massive influx of visitors from the U.S. mainland. The more basic transformation of the Islands, however, from a plantation-military outpost to an urbanized commercial economy was already well advanced, and university students looking forward to professional careers in the new state were likely to be unduly impressed by the challenge of life in the city. Federal census returns for 1960, just a few months later, gave further support to such a tendency, reporting that only seven of the most highly industrialized states of the Union had higher proportions of their population living in urban centers than Hawaii, with its 76.5 percent so resident. The need for social science students especially, but for the general public as well, to become aware of the several other types of community situations from which the overwhelming majority of Hawaii's residents had only recently emigrated or of which they were still part, seemed an objective which this paper might partially achieve. Probably that need is no less urgent today.

The U.S. Census for 1950, from which much of the supporting data for this paper was derived, was the most recent and actually the only one to provide information in as much detail on some aspects of community life, and the account of that decade constitutes a sort of social watershed in which the outlines of both the earlier and the newer structures could be fairly accurately traced. The inclusion of additional descriptive comments by competent observers or residents for all the community types would have been useful in transmitting more cultural flavor to the account, but it was already longer than the editors would have desired.

Unfortunately the tourist-resort communities had not yet developed sufficiently in 1958 to justify their listing as a separate type, but such an analysis today would obviously require special attention to the

modes of living and social values among the tourists and the personnel who serve them in such localities as Mauna Kea Beach, Keauhou, Kaanapali, Lahaina, Poipu, and Waikiki itself. The description and analysis of these emerging communities and of the cultures they are nurturing should offer exciting research possibilities for a number of social scientists of this generation.

## RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

Bernhard L. Hormann

*Social Process in Hawaii* was the distinctive activity of a small but exciting department of sociology that developed in the United States' new and remote Pacific territory in the 1920s and 1930s.

Sociology was introduced as a discipline in 1920 by Romanzo Adams, a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, where the first department of sociology in the world was established and the first Ph.D.s were awarded in 1895. Adams was the seventeenth Ph.D., receiving his degree in 1904. Here in Hawaii he taught economics as well as sociology and introduced both anthropology and social work as offerings at the University. At the beginning it was completely an undergraduate department.

He soon made a virtue of his isolation from sociological conventions and colleagues on the Mainland by recognizing Hawaii as an exciting field for research in its own right, a community with many racial groups in various forms of interaction, including intermarriage. Good demographic statistics made analysis possible. His *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii*, in which statistical analysis was enriched by his warm and sympathetic understanding of the variety of peoples in Hawaii, is still a classic, unfortunately long since out of print.

In 1927, Andrew W. Lind began his relationship with the Department of Sociology, which he continues to this day as Senior Professor Emeritus of Sociology. He introduced the kind of sociological field work and ecological studies for which the University of Chicago was widely known in the 1920s. Under Lind, field work became an important part of the undergraduate course. Studies of the slum, of Chinatown and other immigrant ghettos, of immigrant institutions, of rural communities, from the isolated Hawaiian fishing village to the plantation company town, of the distribution of various forms of social disorganization, such as divorce, suicide, crime, mental illness, were made in his classes. The files of student papers and of ecological maps began to grow. Lind's own research in depth resulted in his

*An Island Community*, a study of the socioeconomic processes by which modern Hawaii was developing. It, unfortunately, too has for years been out of print.

Slowly a graduate program began to develop. Jitsuiichi Masuoka and I, in 1931, were the recipients of the first master's degrees in sociology at this university.

As an undergraduate I had majored in secondary education in the College of Arts and Science, but had been greatly influenced by Romanzo Adams in the direction of the objective reporting of the social scene and in the comparative study of East and West, and by a visiting professor of sociology, William C. Smith, towards a study of the German labor immigrants in Hawaii. That study became my master's thesis.

Starting in 1929 and throughout the 1930s, new men joined the department for one or several years: Clarence Glick, Robert E. Park, Edgar Thompson, Everett Stonequist, Ellsworth Faris, Herbert Blumer, and each added their research interests and perspectives. The most isolated department of sociology became one of the most exciting. Alumni in all walks of life speak of those stimulating times.

In this excitement *Social Process in Hawaii* was born in 1935, an annual project of the undergraduate sociology club. From the beginning the fare consisted of articles by students, faculty, and representatives from the wider community. The annual issues were eagerly awaited by people in various professions in Hawaii, by students who used them as supplementary reading, by a steady group of subscribers on the Mainland and elsewhere in the world.

Many aspects of Hawaii besides ethnic groups and race relations were pursued by the Department of Sociology and by *Social Process in Hawaii*. Hawaii was becoming a sort of hub of the Pacific with important international conferences taking place here. The changing economy of Hawaii, moving from a corporate plantation system with workers controlled by paternalistic or oppressive or impersonal and indifferent managements to one in which collective bargaining prevailed, the growth of the military and of tourism, highly centralized government, party politics and elections, all kinds of social problems, a variety of urban and rural communities, Hawaii under crisis--of war or strike or natural disaster--all called for attention.

The publication of *Social Process in Hawaii* could not have been carried on for so long without the dynamic undergraduate sociology club and a strong student editorial and business staff, chosen every year anew from the club membership.

I re-entered the picture at the University of Hawaii in 1939, when I joined the faculty. Our first issue to come out after Pearl Harbor was censored by the military government. My article on "Morale in Hawaii" was so mutilated that it made little sense. We got behind schedule in the war and finally consolidated volumes IX and X into one 1945 issue.

Issues of *Social Process in Hawaii* often were organized around themes, having to do with such subjects as immigrant groups and their heritage, race relations, social movements, Hawaii in the war, industrial sociology, sociology of religion, basic personal crises, communities--old and new, sociology of speech and language, social frontiers.

The twenty-five different issues have a variety of articles, many of them outstanding in the picture they give you of the intimacy of family life among the Portuguese, the Chinese, and all our groups, of the problems of interracial dating and marriage and family life, whites finding themselves a minority in Hawaii, the coming and adjustment of blacks in Hawaii, unionization on the plantation, case studies of delinquents, the role of "pidgin" English, religious cults and rites in several ethnic groups. Certain articles are little classics, for instance Herbert Blumer's "The Nature of Race Prejudice" (1939, republished in 1954) and "Paternalism in Industry" (1951). Certainly I found that by having my students read excellent articles by other students I could expect better papers from them. I finally selected sixty-three articles from the issues between 1935 to 1950 and put them out as *Community Forces in Hawaii*, issued by the University Bookstore. This was an important text in the course by the same name. Its index has proved useful through the years. It is now out of print.

Kum Pui Lai, student editor of Volumes I and II, indexed all issues of *Social Process in Hawaii*. The University of Hawaii Library published this in 1971. The index also contains a complete chronological list of articles.

In the 1950s the Sociology Club grew weak and finally disappeared, as did other undergraduate departmental clubs. Eventually the work of publication became more and more the work of Lind and myself and the secretary of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory. In the hopes of attracting the interest of younger colleagues who felt Hawaii was a too confining subject, the "in Hawaii" was dropped from the title for the last two issues. This was, no doubt, a mistake, as it took away what was most distinctive and appealing about the publication. At any rate in 1963, during a reorganization of the University, the secretary was removed and the only possible choice was to cease publication. Many regrets were expressed to us, but this could not resurrect the journal.

In the years since 1963 there has been occasional discussion about a revival of *Social Process in Hawaii*. It is to me very gratifying that with the enthusiasm and persistence of Kiyoshi Ikeda, several of whose student articles grace past issues, and his colleagues, *Social Process in Hawaii* is now being revived. Congratulations to them and a toast to the revived *Social Process in Hawaii*. Since Hawaii continues to be a rich field for diverse sociological observation and research and for comparative studies, we look forward to many new years of a stimulating journal.

## SELECTIONS FROM "THE CAUCASIAN MINORITY"

Bernhard L. Hormann

These selections are from Professor Hormann's important article in the 1950 issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* (volume 14). They provide a useful perspective from thirty years ago on the theme of ethnicity in Hawaii, which continues to be a controversial topic. Interest is reflected in student papers (including some which have won the Hormann Prize Award in Sociology, established in honor of Professor Hormann), a number of new scholarly books, and daily newspaper articles. Indeed, in a letter-to-the-editor of the *Honolulu Advertiser*, July 21, 1978, Professor Hormann concludes with the remark, "The story of Hawaii's mixing is not yet finished, but according to the statistics, mixing is clearly ascendant over ethnic separation."

The Editors

The present article deals with the group which is usually considered dominant in Hawaii, the Haoles. From the point of view of numbers however, they are not dominant, but a minority like every other group in Hawaii. Because of their economic, political, and social dominance they sometimes have to face a form of opposition from all the other groups combined, and acquire in this situation, besides intensified numerical subordination, also the sociological role and psychological traits of a minority group. Furthermore, the Haole population can itself be broken into several separate minority groups. The members of each, like persons from the non-Haole ethnic groups, must find their natural place in the still evolving social structure of Hawaii.

To look at the Haoles in this unusual perspective gives us an opportunity to understand their behavior somewhat more realistically. That at least is the burden of this article. It is indeed just because Haoles tend to be generally regarded as a dominant group that they may here quite appropriately be considered a "neglected" minority group.

Before proceeding with our discussion, we may note how the usual emphasis on the dominance of the

Haoles leads to futile controversy and stands in the way of our understanding of the Island interracial scene. When a group is "dominant," the assumption is that it is "responsible" or "to blame" for a situation. For instance, the person who comes from the Mainland with no preparation for the local system of race relations and with previous experiences with persons of other races of an entirely different sort, is frequently bewildered and shocked by what he finds here, and consequently begins to criticize the racially "careless" attitude of local Haoles. Or, on the other hand, the newcomer may have expectations about Hawaii's racial harmony. When he runs into instances of discrimination, he tends to find the local Haoles "at fault." There result many long, but vain arguments about whether the situation in Hawaii is "improving" or "deteriorating" and whether the prejudice which is found here is to be attributed to the kamaaina Haole or to the recent Haole or perchance to the Oriental.

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It is the writer's feeling that in attempting to interpret the behavior of peoples in the local situation an exaggerated amount of attention has been turned to the societies and cultures from which the peoples came, and far too little to the genesis of behavior patterns out of the developing local situation. One of Romanzo Adams' stories comes to mind. A Southern white man recently arrived in Honolulu was heard to remark, "Well, you may call them Kanakas, but where I come from we call 'em niggers." However, within a year this same man had married a woman of Hawaiian ancestry.

Turning now to the Haoles, we will develop two important facets in their situation in Hawaii, both of which involve them in behavior characteristic, not of dominant, but of minority groups. These two important considerations are, first, relative isolation of numerical minority status, and second, status ambivalence, that is, the problems of fitting into Hawaii's complex social structure marked by ethnic diversity and a two-class somewhat caste-like society in process of changing to the three-class system characteristic of the Mainland.

### Haole Diversity

As was suggested above, the Haoles' minority position is intensified by their not being, in origin, a single group. The lack of fundamental unity among



Haoles is something of which all local people are aware, and is perhaps best symbolized by the fact pointed out in earlier issues of *Social Process* that the Portuguese, while since 1940 having achieved official statistical recognition as Caucasians, are still not certain of their position as "Haoles" (see, Hormann, 1948, p. 30).

In further elaboration of this point of Haole diversity, the reader may be reminded of the many components which have gone into the local Haole population. American, French and English missionaries; sailors and beachcombers from all European nations; clerks and merchants, lawyers and physicians from England, Germany, and the United States; Caucasian sugar plantation workers from Portugal, Norway, Italy, Russia, Poland, and the United States; American troops and defense workers: these all have contributed to the local Haole population. Thus diversity is obvious.

The detailed facts about the Caucasian sugar plantation workers are not widely known and warrant a brief summary. Some years ago the writer made a study of the Germans in Hawaii and found that in the period from 1881 to 1897 almost 1,500 Germans, including men, women, and children, were recruited for the labor force of Hawaii's plantations.

The Germans had been preceded by the Portuguese, the first contingent of whom arrived in 1878, and who continued to come down into the second decade of this century. The 1930 Census, which was the last to take separate notice of them, found 27,588 Portuguese. They are by far the most important group of Caucasian immigrants of the peasant and laboring class. Most of the Portuguese came from the Madeira, and Azores Islands, some from Portugal proper, some from the Portuguese settlement in Massachusetts in about 1907, and also about that time about five hundred were brought back from California, where they had migrated from Hawaii. Before the arrival of the first German workers a total of 615 Norwegians had been introduced in 1881, most of them probably going to Maui plantations. Some of the ships bringing Germans in the 1880s and 1890s also brought in some Galicians from what was then the Polish part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

After annexation in 1898 and the organization of the Territory of Hawaii in 1900, American law put a stop to the importation of contract labor. In

1907, the Gentlemen's Agreement made impossible the further importation of Japanese males. Thus, Hawaii's sugar industry was threatened with serious labor shortages. Once again, white labor was considered.

Ewa Plantation experimented with American farmers, introducing fifteen families from the Western states. Houses were erected especially for them. They were each given a garden patch and a "common" for their combined use as pasture. They were assigned lots in the cane fields to be cared for by them. The arrangement was apparently mutually unsatisfactory. After about a year none of the families remained. According to Governor Carter "the white man can not and will not stand the work of tropical cane fields" (Governor of Hawaii, 1904, p. 10).

Some Italians were also introduced. Whether any came directly from Italy and whether there were several importations the writer has been unable to determine. There was certainly mention as well as actual investigation of Italy as a possible source in the late 1870s (Hormann, 1948). The 1900 Census found fifty-eight foreign born Italians, three-fourths of whom were males. A few Italians were brought in from the sugar plantations of Louisiana, probably soon after annexation (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1902, p. 22). In 1907 some effort was made to bring in Italian immigrants from New York, but nothing materialized (Board of Immigration of Hawaii, 1909).

Whether Hindus should be mentioned here depends on the definition of Caucasian. In view of the fact, however, that no trace of this group remains, it is surprising to note that Hawaii's Board of Immigration notes the importation of over four hundred in the period from 1905 to 1911, almost exclusively males.

The Russians too have left little trace, and yet in the period from 1909 to 1912 the Board of Immigration reports that a total of 2,056 Russians, many in family groups, were imported from Manchuria. They do not seem to have remained long in plantation work, but not all left immediately, for many took various skilled and unskilled non-plantation jobs in and around Honolulu.

These Russians had been preceded by a group of 110, all belonging to the Molokan sect, who were brought in from Los Angeles in 1906 and placed on lands of the Kealia plantation. Disagreements quickly developed and they left, having been declared locally a failure (Thrum's Annual, 1907).

Seventeen Poles were introduced in 1913. They all went to Wailuku, where they had relatives.

The only other major Caucasian group to be mentioned is the Spanish (see Brooke, 1948). Just under eight thousand came in from 1907 through 1913. They soon, like the others, left in large numbers for the Mainland, so that by 1938, the Bureau of Vital Statistics estimated that the Spanish population, including Hawaiian-born, numbered only 1,248 (Schnack, n.d.).

It must not be assumed that for all these groups the migration away from Hawaii was complete. Germans, Norwegians, Russians, Spanish, Italians remained and have become merged, both with the wider Caucasian group and the wider population as a whole.

#### Isolation

If we consider the total number of persons classified in this wider Caucasian group, we find them achieving their highest proportion in the total Island population on July 1, 1948, when they constituted by estimate 33.4 per cent of the civilian population of the Islands. According to the most recent estimate of the Bureau of Health Statistics, their proportion on January 1, 1950 was down to 29.6 per cent.

At earlier dates the proportion of Caucasians was even smaller. In the 1910, 1920, and 1930 Censuses the Caucasians came consistently to just under or just over 20 per cent. In 1940 their percentage was 24.5. These percentages, however, included military population stationed in Hawaii, as the figures after 1940 do not.

The percentage of Caucasian school children has been very small. In 1945, when the last returns by race of the school population are available, the percentage of Caucasian children in the total public and private school population was only 5 per cent. Interestingly enough, the percentage of Caucasian children has shrunk over the years. In 1928, for instance, the Caucasian children came to 17 per cent of the total school population. This shrinking is due to the growth of a large second and third generation in the non-Caucasian immigrant groups.

In a very real sense, therefore, it is correct to speak of the Haoles as always having constituted a numerical minority in the Islands.

This numerical deficiency of the socially, economically, and politically dominant group, when combined with other factors, such as the non-contiguity of the Island territory to the U.S. Mainland and the expense and complications of travel to home territory and the climatic, cultural, linguistic, and racial uniqueness of the Islands, makes for the isolation to which earlier reference was made.

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Psychologically, the sensitive Haole who comes to Hawaii expecting to mingle with people of different races but who is soon told by the resident Haoles with whom he is first thrown into contact that he must confine his more intimate social life to Haoles, is also put in a difficult situation conducive of malaise.

The writer has been told that Army and Navy authorities have a persistent problem involving some wives of officers and enlisted men who "hate" Hawaii and have to be transferred back to the Mainland because of their unhappiness.

The superficial diagnosis for these maladjusted persons frequently is that they could not stand the climate. In this connection it is significant that a geographer, A. Grenfell Price, in a comprehensive study of the acclimatization of whites in the tropics came to the conclusion that isolation rather than climate was involved. He noted that on all cultural frontiers, regardless of climate, where whites have resided and been outweighed numerically by a native population, maladjustment is common. On the other hand, when whites have colonized tropical areas and supplanted the native population, this sort of maladjustment tended to be absent (Price, 1939).

For persons to whom Hawaii is their native home, it may be difficult to understand that people from the Mainland can have such a sense of isolation. It is necessary for us to put ourselves imaginatively into the place of people who are separated by over two thousand miles of water from the continent on which their loved ones live. On the Mainland they can travel easily and cheaply by coach or bus or in their own car over distances of many hundreds of miles. In illness and in death, for marriages and other happy occasions, close relatives can get in touch with each other. If the persons come from smaller communities, they are used to moral support, the friendly interest of neighbors.

In Honolulu, conditions are radically different. The sense of distance, in spite of the speed of air travel, overpowers every family of moderate income whose closest ties are with the Mainland. In the urban setting neighborly relations are established only with difficulty. The local Haole population has sometimes been characterized as stand-offish except to people who come with "good introductions." If the Mainland Haole chances to move into a neighborhood having several non-Haole families, diffidence and anxiety on both sides may prevent the establishment of more intimate relations. If in addition, the children in the neighborhood speak the local dialect, and the neighbors in various ways exhibit "strange" customs, the Mainland Haole family may have all their fears confirmed of being isolated in a strange land.

Thus, while with the increasing urbanization and Americanization of Hawaii's peoples and with the reduction in travel time, this sense of isolation and malaise is being reduced, it nevertheless, even today, is a factor which helps us to understand the behavior of immigrant Haoles.

#### The Changing Class Structure

We may now proceed to our second point, namely the problem faced by the newly-arrived Haole when he seeks to fit into the evolving local class structure. This class structure has been described up to recently as a two-class system. ... What happens to Haole groups and individuals who enter this society, where, for long, the top class was largely Haole and the bottom class largely non-Haole?

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Haoles coming directly from the Mainland have left a predominantly middle-class society to enter a society in various stages of transition from two to three classes. Where have they fit in?

Three possibilities are open to them if they are middle-class people, as probably most of them are. They enter the upper class; they join the lower class; or they stay in their middle class in a society in which the middle class is only in process of formation.

\* \* \* \* \*

The middle-class Haole from the Mainland who enters upperclass society in Hawaii feels somewhat out of place. He tends to take on some of the characteristics of upwardly mobile people, of the keepers-up-with-the-Joneses: aggressiveness, snob-bishness, self-advertising, conspicuous consumption. This sort of behavior of course also characterizes local Haoles working their way up from a lower to a higher class position (and incidentally also local non-Haoles moving upward in the social scale). Among such people strong prejudices, often in the form of race prejudices, make their appearance.

It is important to see these prejudices as products of the dynamics of the local situation rather than as importations from the Mainland.

Very few Mainland Haoles who have come into the Territory in the last thirty years have been lower-class Haoles, and few middle-class Haoles have moved downward.

\* \* \* \* \*

This rise of a middle class composed of both Mainland Haole and local non-Haole elements raises intriguing questions about the direction which race relations will take in the future. It is the writer's feeling, based on recent observations, that within this middle class, race conflict will steadily decline. The feeling of identification with a middle class whose dominance will become increasingly apparent will prove stronger than ethnic identity. On the part of the local population, a sense of differentiation from the lower class was manifested in 1948 and 1949 when legislation was passed calling for the gradual return to a single standard school system. Interestingly enough, great concern was shown by some local non-Haole parents whose children were attending the English standard schools, that their association with the children of the pre-standard schools would injure them. There was the suggestion of a fear of contamination by lower-class children, even though these might belong to the same ethnic group. On the part of the Mainland derived middle-class neighborhoods one now frequently sees groups of children playing who are ethnically varied. Adults recently from the Mainland are able quickly to establish friendships with local people. In P.T.A. and similar community organizations effective committee work involves cooperation between persons from several races.

The maturation of the middle class in Honolulu and its increasing influence over the whole society means that the colonial or frontier or plantation era in Hawaii is about to pass into history. Hawaii's admission to the union as a forty-ninth or fiftieth state will be the symbol that Hawaii's social structure has attained the characteristics of American society. It will augur the disappearance of minorities, Oriental, Hawaiian, and Haole.

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#### Postscript 1979

In the more than twenty-five years since I wrote "The Caucasian Minority" several significant changes have occurred. Hawaii has attained statehood. Air transportation has become almost the sole mode of

moving people in and out of Hawaii. Statistically the Caucasians have increased their numerical proportion, becoming the largest minority, close to 40 percent when persons of mixed ancestry are allowed racial self-identification, as was true of the 1970 U.S. Census, closer to one-third if the former ways of counting--only pure Caucasians--are used. Politically the local non-Caucasian minorities have gained tremendously in importance. Ethnic identity movements and the Federal government's concern with numerically fuller representation of all minorities in all parts of the public sector, are forces to be reckoned with. These and other influences continue to keep many Caucasians somewhat apart from the so-called "local" population and in that sense what I called isolation is still to be reckoned with.

The class situation has evolved into what in many ways is a mass rather than a class society. New housing in rural areas and the fact that our ethnic groups--not counting recent immigrants from the Philippines, Korea, Hong Kong, and Vietnam--are an added generation removed from immigrant status have moved us away from the two-class society I spoke of.

In the main, I believe my article still helps us to understand aspects of Caucasian behavior which might otherwise be hard to explain.

THE ETHNIC LAWYER AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE:  
THE JAPANESE ATTORNEY IN HONOLULU

George Yamamoto

Although it was written in the late 1960s based on research conducted in 1959, Professor Yamamoto's article on Japanese lawyers in Honolulu has heretofore only been privately circulated and never before published. Unfortunately it remains the only piece of systematic social science research on any of the professions in Hawaii.

The legal profession in Hawaii has changed dramatically since Yamamoto conducted his research. Some of the Japanese lawyers in his sample have attained high political office and some of the most successful and prestigious law firms in Honolulu are comprised of Japanese partners. Hundreds of new lawyers are now admitted to the bar in Hawaii every year, both graduates of mainland law schools and graduates of the new University of Hawaii School of Law which opened in 1973. Japanese and Chinese lawyers are now firmly established in Hawaii's legal profession. However, Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Samoans are significantly underrepresented. The UH School of Law has a special interest in these groups and has made significant gains in recruiting talented members into the legal profession. Women constitute the most newly discovered underrepresented group and now comprise approximately 40 percent of the UH law students. What will be the experiences of these new groups as they enter the legal profession is now only a matter for speculation. But it is clear that Professor Yamamoto's study begs for an update.

The Editors

Hughes (1971), Caplow (1954), and Riesman (1951), among others, have pointed out that there is a tendency for an occupational status, in addition to its specifically determining traits such as technical qualifications, to develop a complex of auxiliary or extra-occupational traits which come to be expected of incumbents. In a period of rapid social change and extensive social mobility, people with auxiliary characteristics such as racial or ethnic backgrounds other than those long associated with the established profession begin to appear on the scene. In professions such as medicine and law in the United States,

this has meant a social allocation of persons into a variety of occupational positions within the profession in which the auxiliary characteristics of race, ethnicity, or religion, play an important contingent role.

The careers of persons in the legal profession as they are affected by their ethnic and religious characteristics and the consequences for the bar have received special attention in recent years. Hale (1949) described the greatly circumscribed careers of Negro lawyers in Chicago in the late 1940s, the limitations on their work as lawyers being related to the stratification of races in the city. Lortie's (1959) study described the main institutional settings within which lawyers practice their profession in Chicago, and showed that career differentiation among lawyers becomes set rather quickly within a few years after graduation from law school, this crystallization into different routes being heavily influenced by the socio-economic and ethno-religious backgrounds of the lawyers' parents and their relationship to the type of law training received.

In his study of individual practitioners in Chicago, Carlin (1962) provided a detailed description of the work setting of solo lawyers and the types of skills employed by them and pointed to their inferior status in the system of stratification that has arisen in the legal profession with the great increase in the number of lawyers and the rise of huge law firms. This stratification of lawyers in the metropolitan bar according to type and manner of work done is associated with type of law school attended, which in turn is related to the ethno-religious characteristics of the lawyers.

In both the Carlin and Lortie studies of Chicago lawyers, minority types of lawyers in entrepreneurial types of practice were found to have predominantly ethnic clienteles and were also found to be participating in petty local politics as an adjunct to or facilitator of their major work of providing legal services.

Ladinsky (1963) compared samples of solo and firm lawyers in Detroit, and his findings tend to corroborate the studies of the Chicago lawyers. Solo lawyers are predominantly "minority lawyers,"

their formal education is "quantitatively less and qualitatively inferior" to that of firm lawyers, and their work history is more likely to be somewhat "disorderly--having many jobs but not in orderly progression, and doing marginal law work." Family and school background affect the social allocation process through both personal self-selection and differential recruitment by firms. Ladinsky drew implications for legal practice and the law from this process of allocation: poorly trained men are likely to end up in individual practices and do most of the "dirty work" of the bar; there has been extensive elaboration of legal procedures to handle problems of corporate enterprise with the flow of talented persons from quality law schools as opposed to developments for the care of problems of private citizens; there has evolved in urban centers of the United States what can be called an ethnic bar, characterized by many mediocre lawyers competing for the same bread-and-butter cases; and finally and ironically, it is the solo lawyer rather than the large firm lawyer whose professional employment is most vulnerable to bureaucratization through their salaried employment in lay enterprises that more and more have been successfully moving into work involving titles and abstracts, collections, taxes, etc.

Smigel (1964) studied lawyers of the largest firms in New York and concluded that there was considerable professional autonomy even within the context of important bureaucratic firms. Recruitment of lawyers into these Wall Street firms whose special function is to give advice in the practice of corporate law is based on the candidate's academic achievement, attendance at preferred law schools, lineage, and personality. Racial and ethno-religious minority candidates do not readily meet these criteria to the satisfaction of the firms and hence their numbers in these firms are small. Smigel notes, however, that with increasing competition for the hiring of able young lawyers, discrimination in the matter of hiring has been waning as an increasing number of Jews graduate at the top of their classes in the Ivy League colleges and law schools.

The findings of these studies of lawyers in large American urban centers point to the type of law school attended as the crucial contingency with

respect to allocation of lawyers in the legal profession. Racial and ethno-religious background is related to parental occupational and financial status and to perceptions of future roles as lawyers, and these in turn lead to selection of and selection by various types of law schools.

#### *Japanese Lawyers in Honolulu*

Is the process of allocation with the law school playing a key role a general phenomenon throughout the United States? Information was collected in Honolulu to test the likely linkage between racial background, legal education, and type of professional work. While Honolulu is an obviously smaller urban center than the metropolises of Chicago and Detroit, the conditions operating to allocate ethnic minority lawyers into different career paths from those of "native American" lawyers in mainland metropolitan centers also appear to be operating in Hawaii: (1) a "new breed" of lawyers emerging out of immigrant backgrounds without family or ethnic attributes long associated with the practice of law; (2) the established law firms' primary function of providing legal services to the large corporate enterprises controlled by "native Americans"; (3) the existence of "dirty work" that has to be done by somebody, and the presence of the minority status population itself as a source of petty legal work for lawyers.

Seventy-five Japanese-American lawyers in Honolulu, a two-thirds sample of the Japanese-American lawyers in Honolulu as of 1959, were interviewed. This report is based on the collected information relevant to family background, legal education, supplemented by information available in the *Martindale-Hubbell Directory of Lawyers* (1921, 1959) and in the *Bancroft-Whitney Directory of Attorneys, State of Hawaii* (1958).

#### *Types of Employment*

Of the three areas of primary concern in this paper--social origins of family background, legal education, and type of employment--the last will be considered first. The figures for 1920 (Table 1) showing no Japanese attorneys and eighty Caucasians out of a total of eighty-five attorneys in Honolulu, together with the 1958 situation provide a picture of the minority status lawyer appearing on the scene

in relatively large numbers in a period of a few decades. In 1958 the proportion of non-Caucasian lawyers who were members of law firms of any size was about half the proportion of Caucasian lawyers who were law firm members. This picture suggests the familiar pattern of the Chicago and Detroit

TABLE 1. Type of Employment of Lawyers of Honolulu, By Race, 1920 and 1958

Type of Employment	Caucasian %	Japanese %	Others %	Total %	(N)
<u>1920</u>					
Law Firm	30	--	--	28	(24)
Individual Practice	41	--	80	44	(37)
Gov't. Employment	16	--	20	16	(14)
Other Employment	13	--	--	12	(10)
Total (N)	100 (80)	(0)	100 (5)	100	(85)
<u>1958</u>					
Law Firm	42	21	22	31	
Individual Practice	30	46	42	37	
Gov't. Employment	16	28	28	23	
Other Employment	13	4	8	9	
Total (N)	101 (183)	99 (113)	100 (92)	100	(388)

Source: Martindale-Hubbell, 1921 and 1959.

allocation of lawyers. But a further breakdown of law firm membership by race according to size of firm (Table 2) reveals that no non-Caucasian was a member of any firm with six or more lawyers, while half of the law firm Caucasians were members of these large (for Hawaii) firms. All of these large firms provided legal services to the corporate enterprises collectively known as "The Big Five." The association of race or ethnicity with large law firms, and the latter with large business corporations is perhaps even more pronounced than the relationship reported for Chicago and Detroit.

TABLE 2. Racial Distribution of Lawyers by Size of Law Firms, Honolulu, 1920 and 1958

Size of Firm (No. of Lawyers)	Caucasian %	Japanese %	Others %	Total %	(N)
<u>1920</u>					
7 and over	--			33	
4 to 6	33			67	
2 and 3	67				
Total (N)	100 (24)			100	(24)
<u>1958</u>					
7 and over	51	--	--	33	
4 to 6	28	25	15	25	
2 and 3	21	75	85	42	
Total (N)	100 (76)	100 (24)	100 (20)	100	(120)

Source: Martindale-Hubbell, 1921 and 1959.

### *Social Origins*

Entry into the legal profession in Hawaii for persons of racial backgrounds other than Caucasian is a relatively recent development. Like the ethno-religious minority-status lawyers of the metropolitan bars in the 1950s, but to a greater degree, the Japanese lawyers of Honolulu are predominantly second-generation persons (68 of the sample of 75 were born in the United States--67 in Hawaii, 1 in California--of immigrant parents from Japan; the remaining 7 lawyers are *sanssei*, or third generation).

Inspection of "father's occupation" (Table 3) suggests a generally modest family background among these 75 lawyers, as might be expected of children of immigrants who in the main migrated to take up work in the sugar and pineapple plantations and who had relatively little formal schooling. The percentage of blue-collar origin (35%) is greater than the percentage reported by Carlin, Lortie, and Ladinsky for

solo and two-man ethnic partnerships, and the individual proprietor or small entrepreneur type of parental occupation is smaller in percentage for the

TABLE 3. Period Admitted to Bar by Occupation of Fathers of Sample of 75 Respondents

Father's Occupation	Admitted 1947 or Earlier		Admitted 1948 or Later		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional: Civil engineer, clergyman, language school principal	(4)	29	(2)	3	(6)	8
White Collar: Small firm or plant manager, salesman, bookkeeper	(4)	29	(12)	20	(16)	21
Individual proprietor: Retail store owner, tailor, real estate broker, photo- grapher, farmer	(6)	43	(21)	34	(27)	36
Blue Collar: Carpenter, mechanic, welder, waiter, cab driver, laborer	--	--	(26)	43	(26)	35
All	(14)	101	(61)	100	(75)	100

Honolulu sample than for the counterpart Chicago and Detroit samples. These differences are considerably clarified when we note in the table that of the 14 lawyers in the sample who began to practice before the end of World War II, not a single one was of blue-collar background. All 25 of the blue-collar origin lawyers received their legal training after World War II, and 20 of these 26 reported that the G.I. Bill was the principal source of financial support for their legal education (Table 4). The high percentage of blue-collar background lawyers is likely to have been a historical accident--the subsequent trend appears to have been that of very few blue-collar origin aspirants to law. The appearance of these working-class background lawyers in relatively large numbers in a brief period of time may have had an important

TABLE 4. Principal Source of Financing Legal Education of 75 Respondents by Occupation of Fathers

Financial Source	All		Prof. Collar		White Collar		Indiv. Prop.		Blue Collar	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Family	(23)	31	83		31		37		12	
Own income/ savings	(7)	9	--	--	6		15		8	
G.I. Benefits	(45)	$\frac{60}{100}$	$\frac{17}{100}$		$\frac{63}{100}$		$\frac{48}{100}$		$\frac{81}{100}$	
	(75)		(6)		(16)		(27)		(26)	

influence, however, in increasing the tempo of Japanese and other Oriental participation in the city council and the state legislature and thus affecting the rate of social and economic change through political decision making in postwar Hawaii.

In the main, family background for the Honolulu Japanese lawyers does not differ from that reported for the Mainland urban center solo lawyers. Were it not for the special government educational benefit opportunity that many veterans took advantage of, small entrepreneur, white-collar, and modest professional immigrant-status parental backgrounds would be predominant.

#### Pre-legal and Legal Education

It is in the facet of formal education--college and law school--that Honolulu's Japanese lawyers, who were all in solo or small partnerships or in government service (i.e., no one was a member of the larger, established law firms of Honolulu), differ most from their counterparts in Chicago and Detroit. Table 5 shows that 95 percent (72 out of 75 lawyers) of the Honolulu Japanese sample had received a bachelor's degree before enrolling in law school, compared with 43 percent, 60 percent, and 44 percent respectively for the Ladinsky, Lortie, and Carlin samples.

The difference in legal education in terms of type of law school attended is equally impressive (Tables 6 and 7). A goodly proportion of Honolulu



TABLE 5. Undergraduate Education of Honolulu Japanese, Detroit, and Chicago Samples

	Honolulu Japanese	Detroit		Chicago	
		Solo	Firm	"Lortie"	"Carlin"
Has no B.A. degree	5%	57%	13%	40%	56%
Has B.A. degree	95	43	87	60	44
N =	(75)	(100)	(107)	(72)	(84)

Sources: Detroit sample: Ladinsky (1963)  
Chicago samples: Lortie (1959); Carlin (1962)

Japanese lawyers attended the more prestigious schools and not a single one got his law degree from a "proprietary" school. It is clearly evident that in Honolulu, up to the late 1950s, type of law school attended was not relevant for the lawyer employment allocation process, although it appears to have been a crucial contingency in the major alternative occupational routes for lawyers in Chicago and Detroit. While the fact that Hawaii did not have law schools of any kind had obviously affected the type-of-law-school-attended distribution of these Japanese lawyers, it nevertheless remains true that their legal education varies considerably from that of the bulk of the Mainland urban center ethnic minority and/or solo lawyers.

TABLE 6. Affiliation of Law Schools Attended--Honolulu Japanese, Detroit, and Chicago Samples

	Honolulu Japanese	Detroit		Chicago	
		Solo	Firm	"Lortie"	"Carlin"
Private Non-Catholic	47%	3%	18%	33	33
State University	43	39	69		
Catholic	11	22	11	31	36
Proprietary	--	36	2	36	31
N =	101% (75)	100% (100)	100% (107)	100% (72)	100% (84)

Sources: see Table 5.

TABLE 7. Type of Law School Attended--Honolulu Japanese and Detroit Samples

	Honolulu Japanese	Detroit	
		Solo	Firm
"Top National" schools (Chicago, Columbia, Harvard, Michigan, Yale)*	40%	14%	73%
State and "local" schools (other than Michigan)	60	50	25
Proprietary schools	--	36	2
	100%	100%	100%
N =	(75)	(100)	(107)

\*The "top national" schools list is Ladinsky's.

To my knowledge, even up through the late 1960s there was no non-Caucasian partner in any of the large, long-established law firms in Hawaii, although there were a number of small inter-racial partnerships. Interview materials suggest that there has been some self selection on the part of Japanese lawyers in avoiding employment with the big firms on grounds, for example, of "not wanting to give them the satisfaction of turning me down," or of independence--"Who wants to be just a hired hand?" A few non-Caucasians have actually worked as clerks in some of these law firms over the decades, but none of them has worked himself into partnership in these firms. It is possible that the established law firms have had a policy of not taking any "local boy," Caucasian or Oriental, on the assumption that local boys tend to be lacking in poise and local-dialect-accented in speech. It appears that up to World War II, recruitment and eventual partnership in these firms always involved young men from the Mainland. By the late 1960s, however, a few Hawaii-born Caucasians, possibly with the acceptable type of lineage, have been hired and later accepted into partnership.

We could speculate that a practical reason lay behind the seemingly studied avoidance of Oriental and other non-Caucasian lawyers on the part of the big law firms, however good the educational background

of these non-Caucasians. The large law firms have long been legal counselors for the complex of related businesses, the earlier-mentioned "Big Five," involving sugar, pineapple, banking, public utilities, shipping, land management, etc., all owned or controlled in the main by Protestant Caucasians of old American stock. Sons of Asian immigrants in these law firms would have created the problem of Big Five "secrets," not privy to the population at large, becoming accessible to representatives of the non-elite, minority status ethnic groups.

While the old established law firms associated with the old established corporations in Hawaii appear to be especially resistant to the intrusion of non-Caucasians (along with a couple of prestigious social clubs), the business corporations themselves have been hiring and promoting non-Caucasians in the lower and middle executive levels since the end of World War II. Their boards of directors are now sprinkled with the names of persons whose fathers were Japanese and Chinese immigrants to Hawaii, and a good percentage of these Oriental board members are lawyers. This opening up of employment and directorship to non-Caucasians appears to be an irreversible trend, and the time may not be far off for a Japanese lawyer here and a Chinese lawyer there, with the proper legal training and proper degree of poise and standard-American speech fluency, to be providing legal services as members of these large firms.

The possibility of non-Caucasians in the large law firms and the reality of non-Caucasians in the executive and board levels of the larger local corporations appear intimately related to the increasing influence of non-Caucasians in Hawaiian politics--a theme that is not developed in this paper except to mention the important role of non-Caucasian lawyers in local political decision making. Politics has been an outlet for Japanese lawyers, particularly veterans of the armed forces, who have felt that certain changes needed to be made in the Island Community. Politics has also been viewed as a facilitator in getting clientele in their practices, and for many as a temporary refuge while they earned a living and got experience in the law as politically appointed government attorneys. Active political participation has meant also the appearance of many non-Caucasian lawyers in the higher local judiciary positions where formerly such high judgeships were out of reach of Orientals.

Most specifically, non-Caucasian lawyers have invaded the State Legislature (Table 8) and the County Councils. In 1959, 36 of 76 state legislators were lawyers, and of those 36, twenty were Japanese and another nine were of Chinese, Korean, or Hawaiian ancestry. In addition, of the four Congressional posts for the new state of Hawaii, two were held by a Japanese lawyer and a Chinese lawyer. Today (1968), all four posts are filled by Oriental lawyers, three Japanese (one a woman) and one Chinese.

The Chicago and Detroit studies of lawyers do note the tie between the minority status practitioner and local politics, but it would seem that the geographically isolated, rather closed Hawaiian situation and the high proportion of non-Caucasians, most of whom are now of the citizen generations, have enabled the ethnic minority lawyer in Hawaii to wield a greater degree of political influence in the state and to rise to high political and judiciary positions in a briefer period of time.

TABLE 8. Hawaii State Legislators by Lawyer/Non-lawyer and by Race, 1959

	Caucasian	Japanese	Others	Total
Lawyer	7	20	9	36
Non-lawyer	16	15	9	40
Total	23	35	18	76

Source: Directory of Agencies and Officers of the State of Hawaii, 1960.

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PART TWO: CURRENT RESEARCH

## ETHNICITY AND RAPE IMPACT:

THE RESPONSES OF WOMEN FROM DIFFERENT ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS  
TO RAPE AND TO RAPE CRISIS TREATMENT SERVICES IN HAWAII

Libby O. Ruch  
and  
Susan M. Chandler

### Introduction and Background to the Problem

The primary objective of this research is to investigate the crisis and longer-term effects of sexual assault on women from different ethnic backgrounds in Hawaii.

#### *Rape Trauma*

Long a subject shrouded in taboos, stigmas, and myths, the critical subject of how sexual assault affects the victim has become the subject of recent empirical research. Several investigators (Burgess and Holmstrom, 1974; Fox and Scherl, 1972; Bard and Ellison, 1974) have approached the problem of assessing the impact of rape on the victim by describing the responses frequently seen in rape victims and by outlining the implications of the data for crisis intervention and clinical treatment. For example, Burgess and Holmstrom (1974) interviewed rape victims admitted to a hospital in Boston and concluded that there is a two phase *rape trauma syndrome*. During the acute stage, which lasts for a few hours or days, the victims may experience many emotions, but the primary response is that of fear --the fear of being severely injured or killed. Their research describes a second stage of trauma in which the victim enters a long-term reorganization phase, often characterized by fear, anxiety, sleeping difficulties, sexual problems, and changes in life style. The reorganization phase may continue for weeks or months, depending on such factors as the woman's personality, the availability of support systems, and the response by significant others to the victim. Thus, the Burgess and Holmstrom research (1974) documents clearly that rape has traumatic and often enduring effects on the victim.

A somewhat different methodological approach is illustrated by the Queen's Bench Foundation Rape Victimization Study (1975). Since many rape studies draw their samples from hospital admittances or police records which may bias their results in the direction of women who are willing to contact the police or who seek medical attention, here women from the San Francisco community were asked to volunteer for the study. The findings generated in this study also reflect the significant impact of sexual assault on women. The victims reported that their strongest emotion at the time of the rape was fear, while shortly after the assault they felt extremely helpless, anxious, angry, or depressed. This rape impact continued beyond the crisis period. Of the victims participating in the study, 67 percent felt that they had suffered long-term psychological effects as a result of the rape and 80 percent reported that the rape had affected their lives in a major way. This study also makes an important contribution to understanding rape victimization by examining the conditions in which rape impact varies among victims. For instance, victims who were raped by strangers experienced relatively high levels of rape impact and their subsequent concerns focused on personal safety. Rape impact was lower in situations where the rapist was known to the victim; subsequent concerns expressed by the women more often involved lowered self-esteem and problems relating to other individuals.

#### *Ethnic and Organizational Effects*

Current studies on rape victims indicate that rape impact can be severe and may extend over a considerable period of time. We propose that rape impact is not a unitary process and that more attention should be paid to the question of what conditions affect the degree and nature of rape impact over time. The studies previously cited suggest that the *rape itself* affects women, creating fear, anxiety, and a variety of other emotions. Moreover, the process of rape victimization is *not* limited to the assault but may occur many times after the rape--the difference is that while the rapist commits the first assault, members of the society and the network of rape-related organizations (hospitals, police, courts) may commit the subsequent victimizations (Bohmer and Blumberg, 1975).

Research has yet to be done which will yield systematic data on how women from different *ethnic groups* are affected by sexual assault and by the

treatment and criminal justice system. A case study (Wong, 1975) suggests that Asian-American women are more likely than Caucasian women to be treated with skepticism and harassment in the criminal justice system because of racist stereotypes picturing Asian women as bar girls and prostitutes. It has also been suggested that certain ethnic groups, such as Asian-Americans, typically rely on the family rather than on public agencies in times of need. However, the Asian family may not be supportive to a family member who has been sexually victimized because of the fear of social stigma associated with sexual assault. Thus, the Asian-American victim may be even more isolated than other sexual assault victims from social and emotional support (National Rape Center Conference on Issues Pertaining to Sexual Assault: Special Populations, 1977). The purpose of the present research is to develop and test research questions concerning the relationship between ethnicity and rape impact.

#### Central Concepts

The concept of *rape impact* is defined as the change in the victim's life following sexual victimization. Such life changes may be physiological (e.g., medical injuries, pregnancy), psychological (e.g., depression, phobias), or social (e.g., interpersonal problems, loss of job). Rape impact is conceptualized both as the direct consequence of rape (such as a resulting pregnancy) and the more indirect long-range consequences (such as the grand jury's failure to indict an assailant which results in the woman's feeling that she was not believed). Since rape impact varies in symptomatology and in intensity, this research will examine two dimensions of rape impact. The *level* of rape impact refers to the degree to which the victim's life is affected by the victimization; the *type* of rape impact refers to the nature of the problems encountered by the victim.

#### Research Questions

The present research allows the comparison of women from distinct ethnic backgrounds in Hawaii--Caucasian, Asian, and Hawaiian--who were the victims of sexual assault. A number of significant questions can be pursued concerning ethnic variations, including the following:

1. Do women from different ethnicities experience different types of rape impact (concerns, emotions, and problems)?

2. Is the level of rape impact (the degree to which the rape affects the victim) different among women of diverse ethnicities?
3. Do victims from varying ethnic backgrounds request or receive differential treatment from medical and legal organizations?

#### Methodology

##### *The Rape Treatment Center and the Victims*

The data were collected by interviewing every adult woman admitted to the rape crisis treatment center in Honolulu, Hawaii, during a fourteen-month period. During this time 212 victims were treated at the center and about half of them returned for follow-up medical and counseling services.

The rape treatment center is housed in a hospital and offers comprehensive medical, social, and legal support services to victims of sexual assault. Emergency services are available twenty-four hours a day to women who have been assaulted within two days of contacting the center; nonemergency and follow-up services are provided during regular office hours at the hospital. While the available services include legal evidence collection as well as medical examinations for injury and prophylactic treatment for venereal disease and pregnancy, the victim is eligible for services whether or not she is reporting the assault to the police. All services are free and confidential. The victim is accompanied through the treatment process by a staff social worker during office hours or by a volunteer crisis worker during nonoffice hours. The social worker or crisis worker interviews the victim concerning the nature of the rape impact and assesses the level of emotional trauma.

The rape center provides an excellent site for studying the impact of sexual assault because it is the sole treatment center for sexual assault in the state and every known victim (whether referred by the police or other community agency) is treated there. Approximately two-thirds of the state's population is concentrated in the urban area and county where the center is located.

##### *Measure of Rape Impact*

The concept of rape impact refers to the change in the victim's life following victimization and has

two dimensions--the type of rape impact is the nature of the particular concerns the woman has and the level of rape impact is an assessment of how severely she has been affected by the assault.

Since we are concerned with longitudinal rape impact, a series of instruments is employed to gather information on the rape impact at different points in time. The woman is interviewed shortly after the assault at intake, about two weeks later, and then whenever she contacts the center during the year following the assault.

The type of rape impact is measured by asking the woman "How are you feeling now? Can you tell me about any concerns or worries you are having now?" The answers are coded in terms of the categories which have been found to subsume most responses (e.g., anger towards the assailant, fear for personal safety, anxiety about the judicial process, etc.).

The level of rape impact is measured by questions contained in the initial and follow-up interview schedules which ask the crisis worker or the social worker for an "assessment of the emotional impact of the assault on the victim." Criteria for assessing the level of rape impact include behavioral (e.g., does the victim cry or tremble throughout part of or most of the interview), emotional (e.g., is she expressing mild or intense fear or self-blame), and cognitive (e.g., can she make plans for dealing with the rape or is she relatively confused and disoriented). The degree or level of impact is measured by the responses which form a six-point scale, ranging from "no emotional impact" which is scored as one point to "extremely severe emotional impact" which is scored as six points. Then the scores for the victims are summed and averaged to produce a mean rape impact score. Thus, a high level of rape trauma is indicated by a high score, while a low score reflects a low level of rape impact experienced by the victim. Despite the use of standardized coding criteria and training for the crisis workers, the preliminary analysis of the data indicated that some raters tended to rate victims consistently higher than other raters to adjust for this variation, the raw rape impact scores were transformed into z-scores and adjusted to make the overall mean and range of scores similar for all workers. The adjusted rape impact measure is utilized for the data collected when the victim is admitted to the hospital since there are several crisis workers. Adjustment of the follow-up rape impact scores is not necessary because only the

staff social worker assesses the victim at the follow-up visits.

#### *Individual and Social Characteristics of the Victim*

The woman is asked to give her ethnic identification at her first visit to the center and is classified as Caucasian, Chinese, Filipina, Japanese, Korean, Black, Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian, mixed, or other ethnicity. The mixed category is for those victims whose parents have different ethnicities. Part-Hawaiians, however, are not coded as mixed but are grouped with Hawaiians because there are few pure Hawaiians and because mixed Hawaiians tend to identify with their Hawaiian heritage rather than their other ethnicity.

The victims treated at the center come from diverse ethnic backgrounds. This paper focuses on the three ethnic groups (N=182) who were most numerous in the patient population--Caucasian, Asian-American (Chinese, Japanese, and Korean), and Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian--so that the sample size would be sufficient to allow meaningful comparisons between ethnic groups.

Questions in the first interview also concern the woman's social class, marital status, number and age of children, and support systems, etc. Additional questions are asked in the follow-up interview about the woman's emotional state and stressful life changes prior to the sexual assault. The responses to these interview questions are coded into predetermined categories on the interview schedule; these categories reflect the most common responses which have been encountered in the research project.

Since the level and type of rape impact may reflect the nature of the assault and the assailant, the victim is asked questions about the assailant, such as the number of men involved in the assault and the relationship between the assailant(s) and the victim. The kind of force used in the assault and the degree of injuries sustained by the victim are measured by questions on the medical record completed by the examining physician.

The response data from these questions dealing with the social-psychological characteristics of the victim and the rape itself will be analyzed to determine if there is an association with the degree and type of rape impact at different points in time. For example, it may be that victims of various ethnic groups

are initially fearful about their personal safety, but later the Caucasian women may be more angry about the judicial process, while the Asian women may be more concerned about their relationships with family and friends.

### Results

#### *Type of Rape Impact*

Rape is a frightening experience for the vast majority of women and so a relatively similar response to the sexual assault might be expected. When asked by the crisis workers to recall how they felt during the assault, 71 percent of the victims reported experiencing fear for their lives (and for others if their children were present). The high proportion of women experiencing fear validates the perspective that rape is an act of violence and aggression perpetrated against the victim. Table 1 indicates that 38 percent of the victims recalled feeling helpless during the assault, while 31 percent experienced anger toward the

TABLE 1. Type of Rape Impact During the Assault\*

	Caucasian	Asian	Hawaiian	All Victims
Fear for Personal Safety	74% (105)	65% (13)	55% (11)	71% (129)
Helplessness	37% (52)	45% ( 9)	45% ( 9)	38% (70)
Anger toward Assailant	31% (44)	25% ( 5)	40% ( 8)	31% (57)
Disgust with Assailant	11% (16)	15% ( 3)	20% ( 4)	13% (23)
Self-blame	4% ( 5)	5% ( 1)	15% ( 3)	5% ( 9)
Totals	78% (142)	11% (20)	11% (20)	100% (182)

\*The victims may report experiencing more than one emotion.

assailant. These three reactions were found among all victims irrespective of ethnicity, but there is also some variation among the ethnic groups in the frequency with which these emotions are reported. Hawaiian women, while expressing fear most often as a reaction to the rape, mention it in only 55 percent of the cases compared with 74 percent of the Caucasian women. Helplessness, however, is recalled more often by Asian and Hawaiian women (45 percent) than by Caucasian women (37 percent). Hawaiians also express much more anger (40 percent) and disgust (20 percent) with the assailant than the Asian and Caucasian women.

The victims were also interviewed about their emotional concerns when they were treated at the rape treatment center (typically within hours or a day after the assault). As shown in Table 2, the women continued to be frightened (41 percent) but also express a number of other concerns at intake especially about how their families will react and about the possible medical implications of the rape (e.g., injury, pregnancy, venereal disease).

Fear for personal safety continues to be the primary concern for most women at the initial interview but is expressed by more Asian (65 percent) and Hawaiian (50 percent) victims than Caucasians (37 percent). The Hawaiian and Asian women are also clearly more often worried about the reaction of their families and experience feelings of helplessness and shame. Hawaiian women report more concerns overall than do the other women at intake. Thus, these data indicate that the impact of a sexual assault is different for different ethnic groups even within hours of the assault. This finding is extremely important for the development of effective crisis intervention programs.

The victims were also interviewed at their follow-up visit, approximately two weeks after the assault (see Table 3). Even though some time has passed since the rape, fear for personal safety continues to be the most frequent concern (expressed by 30 percent of all the victims). Fear of pregnancy and venereal disease is reported by 29 percent of the women. Eighteen percent of the victims experience problems at work and 20 percent express difficulties relating to their families or friends.

While these concerns are important for all women, the priority differs among the three ethnic groups. The Hawaiian women are especially apt to have problems

TABLE 2. Type of Rape Impact at Initial Interview\*

	Caucasian	Asian	Hawaiian	All Victims
Fear for Personal Safety	37% (52)	65% (13)	50% (10)	41% (75)
Anger toward Assailant	34% (48)	30% ( 6)	20% ( 4)	32% (58)
Concern about Medical Implications	32% (46)	20% ( 4)	45% ( 9)	32% (59)
Concern about Reaction of Family and Others	21% (30)	30% ( 6)	50% (10)	25% (46)
Helplessness	11% (15)	20% ( 4)	30% ( 6)	14% (25)
Shame, Embarrassment	6% ( 8)	15% ( 3)	40% ( 8)	10% (19)
Totals	78% (142)	11% (20)	11% (20)	100% (182)

\*The victims may report experiencing more than one emotion.

at work (33 percent), fear for their personal safety (44 percent), and anger toward the police (22 percent). The Caucasian victims also share the concern about safety (29 percent) and their medical condition (26 percent), but at this point in time are having more interpersonal difficulties with significant others than are the non-Caucasian women (23 percent). The Asian women also are concerned about the medical implications of the rape (33 percent), and about their personal safety (25 percent), but do not express problems with work, relating to family, or anger toward the police. These data indicate both that the concerns of a rape victim change over time and that the impact of rape is different for women from different ethnic backgrounds.

#### Level of Rape Impact

The second basic question concerns whether women from different ethnic groups suffer more impact from the sexual assault; Table 4 shows the mean rape impact scores for all victims and for the victims from each

TABLE 3. Type of Rape Impact at Follow-up Interview\*

	Caucasian	Asian	Hawaiian	All Victims
Fear for Personal Safety	29% (20)	25% ( 3)	44% ( 4)	30% (27)
Concern about Medical Implications	26% (18)	33% ( 4)	44% ( 4)	29% (26)
Family, Interpersonal, or Sexual Difficulties	23% (16)	8% ( 1)	11% ( 1)	20% (18)
Problems with Work	19% (13)	0% ( 0)	33% ( 3)	18% (16)
Anger toward Assailant	16% (11)	8% ( 1)	0% ( 0)	13% (12)
Anger toward Police	13% ( 9)	8% ( 1)	22% ( 2)	13% (12)
Totals	77% (70)	13% (12)	10% ( 9)	100% (91)

\*The victims may report experiencing more than one emotion.

ethnic group. The higher the rape impact score, the higher the level of rape impact.

Very clear differences are seen in the level of rape trauma experienced by the women when admitted to the rape treatment center soon after the assault. Asian women ( $X = 3.88$ ) and Hawaiian women ( $X = 3.80$ ) are assessed by the social worker and crisis workers as more emotionally traumatized than the Caucasian women ( $X = 3.10$ ) soon after the sexual victimization. Thus, while rape is traumatic for all its victims, the immediate effect is more pronounced in the non-Caucasian victims.

Do these differences among women in Hawaii continue or are they associated more with crisis rather than with long-range consequences? When the women return to the center about two weeks after the assault to receive follow-up medical attention, their level of rape trauma is assessed by the staff social worker. As shown in Table 4, the rape impact score has decreased from  $X = 3.28$  to  $X = 3.05$  indicating that the



TABLE 4. Level of Rape Impact

	Mean Scores			All Victims
	Caucasian	Asian	Hawaiian	
Rape Impact Score at Initial Interview*	3.10 (135)	3.88 (20)	3.80 (20)	3.28 (175)
Rape Impact Score at Follow-up Interview**	3.07 (68)	3.00 (10)	2.88 ( 8)	3.05 (86)
Decrease in Rape Impact Scores over Time***	-.03	-.88	-.92	-.23

\*The larger the score, the higher the level of rape impact on the victim.

\*\*The N decreases because about half of the victims do not return to the center for follow-up services

\*\*\*The larger the score, the more the level of rape impact has decreased over time

emotional trauma typically lessens for victims over time. However, examination of this table for ethnic differences indicates that the level of rape impact has decreased most noticeably among the Asian and the Hawaiian victims whose impact scores have decreased by .88 and .92 compared with only .03 for the Caucasian victims. Thus, the non-Caucasian women, who were more traumatized than Caucasian women at crisis, have become similar or even somewhat lower in their level of emotional trauma at the follow-up interview.

These findings are extremely interesting because they suggest that there is an association between ethnicity and the response to sexual assaults, especially at crisis. Several variables which might affect this relationship (e.g., the number of assailants, the degree of injuries, the prior emotional status of the victim) were explored to further investigate this question but none of these variables had a systematically different effect on Caucasian vs. non-Caucasian women. Further exploration of this question is being conducted as part of the ongoing research on rape victims in Hawaii. However, the clear differences between the victims suggest that Asian and Hawaiian women are more

emotionally traumatized at crisis. Examination of Table 2 indicates that these women were especially concerned about the reaction of their families. Perhaps the provision of skilled crisis intervention services with the victim and her family plus the close-knit nature of many Asian and Hawaiian families in Hawaii contribute to the dramatic decrease in the emotional trauma of the non-Caucasian victims. These data reflect both the importance of ethnic variations within a community and the importance of having rape treatment services for women and their families to lessen the tragic impact of sexual assault.

#### *Organizational Involvement*

The last question to be investigated is whether the degree and type of organizational involvement with the center varies between the ethnic groups who reside in Hawaii. As shown in Table 5, 70 percent of the women provided crisis services at the rape center are Caucasian; 10 percent are Asian and Hawaiian respectively, and 10 percent are from various other ethnic groups. These statistics suggest that Caucasian women are overrepresented relative to their number in the general population, whereas Asian-American women are underrepresented. While these data may reflect that more Caucasians are sexually assaulted, it is also possible that Asian victims are less likely to utilize the rape center treatment services. The latter interpretation is consistent with the findings of studies on the utilization of mental health and social service organizations by ethnic groups in this community. Another factor which may affect the intake statistics is that the rape center was studied during its first year and a half of operation; the awareness of its services may not be widespread throughout the population or evenly distributed throughout the different ethnic groups residing in Hawaii.

About half (49 percent) of the victims return to the Center for follow-up medical and counseling services. As shown in Table 5, the proportion of women returning to the center from each ethnic group is similar to the proportion utilizing the initial services. These data suggest that there is not a differential utilization of follow-up services by women from different ethnicities.

Women can receive services at the center whether or not they report the assault to the police. However, when the population of the women admitted to the center is analyzed, most of the victims are reporting the

TABLE 5. Ethnicity of Women in the State and Utilization of Mental Health and Rape Treatment Services

	Females in Honolulu County*	Mental Health Service Admissions*	Rape Victims Treated at Center	
			Initial	Follow-Up
Caucasian	37%	43%	70%	68%
Asian	48%	8%**	10%	12%
Hawaiian	11%	14%	10%	9%
Other Ethnic Groups	4%	35%**	10%	11%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%

\*Department of Health, Health Surveillance Program, Research and Statistics Office, State of Hawaii, 1976

\*\*Koreans are included in the "Other Ethnic Groups" category in these mental health statistics but are in the "Asian" category throughout the rest of the paper

assault to the police (82 percent of the Asians, 73 percent of the Hawaiians, and 72 percent of the Caucasians). The high reporting rate of all women, regardless of ethnicity, may reflect the fact that a high proportion of the women using the center are referred there after reporting the assault to the police. The high reporting rate may also indicate that women are encouraged to report the assault when comprehensive services (legal evidence collection, information, and advocacy with the law enforcement system) are available to assist them. The high proportion of Asian women who are reporting and the underrepresentation of this group relative to the population suggest that Asian women tend only to come to the rape center when they have contacted the police to report the crime and are then referred to the center; thus non-reporting Asian women do not utilize the rape crisis treatment services.

It has been suggested that women from ethnic groups with relatively low power and status in the society may be less apt to report assaults to the police and so are

cut off from legal redress for rape and other forms of sexual assault. This reluctance may stem from a variety of sources such as fear of harassment from the police, hostility toward the establishment, skepticism that justice is available to all, etc. A low reporting rate of non-Caucasian women, especially Hawaiians, which might be expected from this line of reasoning, is not supported by the reporting rates of ethnic groups in Hawaii.

#### *Services Provided to Rape Victims*

Table 6 shows the services which the rape center provided the victims at intake within hours of the assault. The most utilized services are medical (64 percent), again reflecting the dual concerns of

TABLE 6. Services Received by Victims at Intake\*

	All			
	Caucasian	Asian	Hawaiian	Victims
Medical Examination	64% (91)	75% (15)	50% (10)	64% (116)
Victim Counseling	59% (84)	65% (13)	60% (12)	60% (109)
Information about the Legal System	43% (61)	30% (6)	45% (9)	42% (76)
Family Counseling	8% (11)	25% (5)	20% (4)	11% (20)
Totals	78% (142)	11% (20)	11% (20)	100% (182)

\*The victims may receive more than one service.

rape victims for personal safety and medical implications. Victim counseling was provided to 60 percent of the women (crisis intervention is provided to all women). Asian women receive the highest percentage of medical and counseling services when compared to Caucasian and Hawaiian women--75 percent of the Asian women receive medical examinations, 65 percent receive victim counseling and 25 percent receive family counseling. The higher frequency of family counseling among Asian and Hawaiian women is consistent with the higher levels of concern about family reactions found among these ethnic

groups. Requests regarding information about the legal system is somewhat lower among Asian women (30 percent compared to 45 percent of the Hawaiian and 43 percent of the Caucasian women) at crisis.

Data collected on the services provided women returning to the center for follow-up treatment (shown in Table 7) indicate that the women are more apt to be dealing with socio-emotional needs than medical needs at follow-up (86 percent of the women returned for counseling, while 52 percent for medical examination and testing). The data on long-term services have not yet been analyzed but an increasing focus on the social-psychological rather than physical consequences stemming from the assault is expected to occur over time.

TABLE 7. Services Provided Victims at Follow-up\*

	Caucasian	Asian	Hawaiian	All Victims
Victim and Family Counseling	87% (61)	83% (10)	78% ( 7)	86% (78)
Medical Examination	57% (40)	42% ( 5)	22% ( 2)	52% (47)
Information about the Legal System and Legal Advocacy	47% (33)	58% ( 7)	56% ( 5)	49% (45)
Referrals to Other Community Agencies	30% (21)	17% ( 2)	11% ( 1)	26% (24)
Totals	77% (70)	13% (12)	10% ( 9)	100% (91)

\*The victims may receive more than one service.

The proportion of women from the different ethnic groups receiving counseling services at follow-up is similar. This finding is consistent with the data shown in Table 4 that the level of rape trauma, initially higher among non-Caucasian women, is actually similar for victims from different ethnic backgrounds at follow-up. The Caucasian women are somewhat more likely than the women from other groups to return for medical examinations (57 percent), and to be referred to other social service agencies in the community (30 percent). Again, these findings may reflect a greater

dependence and utilization of Caucasians of public helping agencies; the Asian and Hawaiian women may have available or rely more on familial and interpersonal networks.

### Conclusion

More generally, the data from this research indicate that victims from diverse ethnic backgrounds suffer serious and long-lasting consequences from being sexually assaulted and that a rape crisis center is an important mechanism for easing the trauma experienced by these victims. Moreover, the results show that women from different ethnic groups vary in their problems and emotional trauma stemming from the rape and so in their treatment needs. Thus, it is critically important that rape crisis treatment centers (and other organizations as well) in multi-ethnic communities be sensitive to the differences among the populations served and offer a comprehensive array of services suited to the ethnic mix in their community.

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# ATTITUDES TOWARDS LEPROSY\*†

Milton Bloombaum  
and  
Ted Gugelyk

The enforced isolation of leprosy patients into institutional settings has been a common method worldwide for containing the disease of leprosy. Leprosy colonies were *total institutions* (Goffman, 1961) and mandatory isolation, banishment and quarantine of communicable patients by the thousands was the only known way of protecting the healthy community from a feared infection; only recently has the disease been brought under medical control.

Before the discovery of the effectiveness of sulfone drugs (in the 1940s), governments were faced with a disease only partly understood. Although leprosy has been known for many centuries, the mycobacterium responsible for it was not discovered until 1874, by Dr. G. Armauer Hansen; this discovery confirmed the idea of bacteriological contagion, and led to official isolation of persons afflicted with the disease. Enforced isolation as a formal and legal response to the disease in the 1860s evolved into the public health model for containing and isolating infected people. Molokai became known as "the lonely island," and until recently few cared to visit the Kalaupapa leprosarium.

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\*Preliminary report based on the first forty patient interviews at the Kalaupapa leprosarium--part of the larger project, "Social Aspects of Leprosy in Hawaii," Milton Bloombaum, Principal Investigator; Ted Gugelyk, Co-Principal Investigator.

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Hansen's Disease (leprosy) is primarily endemic to non-Western peoples; it was envisioned as a foreign, "non-white" disease--as strange and exotic as the newly contacted cultures administered by Western powers. Thus, compulsory segregation legislation based on the Kalaupapa model was passed in Norway in 1885, in New South Wales in 1890, in Cape Town Africa in 1892, in Japan in 1900, and in Ceylon in 1901. The widely-known leprosy colony of Culion was established in the Philippines in 1901, and Carville, established by the U.S. Public Health Service in Louisiana in 1894, is widely recognized as an international model for leprosy research and treatment of patients.

Although the ravages of leprosy were feared both by the Western administrators responsible for the containment of the disease and the peoples so infected with the mycobacterium, there is evidence of cross-cultural difference regarding the stigma attributed to the disease. Native Hawaiians showed no disgust toward the disease, even in its worst form. Similarly, Nigerians placed no onus on the disease, while other African peoples did. Chinese, Japanese, South-east Asians and many other ethnic groups also displayed revulsion toward the disease (Gussow and Tracy, 1970).

Thirty years after the discovery of sulfone therapy, leprosy communities like Kalaupapa are still functioning throughout the world. As with Kalaupapa, many leprosaria are now inhabited by patients who no longer are confined against their will, but in fact, elect to remain isolated. Furthermore, patients who have newly contracted the disease may be hesitant to seek modern medical treatment. A United Nations World Health Organization report states there are between 10 and 15 million known leprosy cases in the world, and prejudice related to the disease still persists to a degree that is not found with any other disease. "Perhaps no other disease causes such a reaction in the community and so much distress and unhappiness to patients and their families. This anxiety may follow leprosy patients and relatives throughout their lives and cast a shadow over families and professional and social activities." (WHO, 1970)

Our current research at Kalaupapa includes consideration of patient self-image, self-esteem, and degree of depressive affect. Standardized social-

psychological instruments are administered during in-depth interviews of patients. We are eliciting information about stigma as perceived by patients, patient understandings and attitudes towards their disease, and obtaining biographies (oral histories) in respect to patient experiences surrounding their disease. A cross-cultural general community survey of attitudes towards leprosy and selected other diseases will provide the basis for investigating the relationship between general community attitudes toward leprosy and those of patients. We hope thereby to shed some light on one of the major problems in local and international leprosy treatment, i.e., the degree of public awareness and acceptance of leprosy patients, before and after their cure.

Kalaupapa itself, with a patient population of 128, shows the greatest concentration of leprosy patients in the state; however there are a few patients located at Hale Mohalu, a facility on the island of Oahu for treatment, care and visits, and some patients in whom the disease has been arrested are living among nonpatients in the general community. The entire community of leprosy patients as well as the staff who provide medical, physical, and social care, and administrative services are of interest to our ongoing research studies of Social Aspects of Leprosy in Hawaii.

Apart from the complete report, which is perhaps two years ahead of us, we have discovered a number of interesting phenomena which we feel merit discussion at this time. Based on preliminary partial analysis of the first forty in-depth interviews conducted between May and October, 1977, with leprosy patients at the Kalaupapa settlement, we here embark on a discussion of attitudes towards leprosy and other diseases. This initial group consists of those who stepped forward to be interviewed first; over one-half were of Hawaiian or of part-Hawaiian, slightly less than one-third were of Oriental, and the remainder were of Puerto Rican, Portuguese or Samoan ancestry. About two-thirds were male, and ages ranged from 38 to 92. According to Department of Health classification, almost three-fourths were partly disabled, disabled, or blind.

One of our most interesting findings was that the Kalaupapa leprosy patients themselves regarded their own disease as least severe among the six chronic diseases they were asked to rank in terms of

how "bad" they viewed each disease. Under the assumption that the rank of the sums is equal to the sum of the ranks, the six diseases are here listed in decreasing severity:

- Cancer
- Mental Illness
- Venereal Disease
- Alcoholism
- Tuberculosis
- Leprosy

We found this puzzling in light of the fact that the patients interviewed are all bacteriologically "negative," and eligible to return from Kalaupapa to live in the general community; they are in voluntary confinement. Why would patients who on the whole viewed their own disease as relatively light elect to remain at the settlement? In an earlier publication (Bloombaum and Gugelyk, 1970) based on analysis of patient records, we suggested that voluntary confinement would be accounted for by (1) habituation to a way of life, and (2) stigma imputed to the members of the general community. From a social psychological perspective, stigma proves to be the more interesting notion, because its existence can, in principle, be measured objectively in the general community as well as in terms of the perceptions of the patients. Any discrepancies would, of course, be subject to interpretation by way of throwing additional light on the question of voluntary confinement as well as on the attitudes of patients towards other social objects.

Although the findings reported here appear not to contradict our earlier findings, they do provide a context for additional explanation. In this light, then, we sought to gather additional data relating to disease severity, as seen by selected members of the general community. We here report on two special populations of educated persons. The first is a student population (N = 113) of those enrolled in Sociology 200 in the Fall semester, 1977, at the University of Hawaii, Manoa. This course, although designed primarily for pre-majors in Sociology, also draws a large number from those within the general student body who are not yet decided on their major field. Course enrollees are with respect to Hawaii's population disproportionately of Japanese ancestry, mostly female, and of course within the age range typical of contemporary college students. Although we cannot claim this population to be

representative of either Hawaii or students in general, we feel it to be sufficiently well understood so as to provide for meaningful comparison with the patient population. The students as a whole ranked the six diseases as follows in order of decreasing severity:

Cancer  
Mental Illness  
Leprosy  
Tuberculosis  
Alcoholism  
Venereal Disease

The most notable discrepancy in the two sets of rankings (by patients and students, respectively) is to be found in the relative positions of leprosy. The students ranked this disease third most severe, while the leprosy patients ranked it as least severe. If stigma is a critical component of the overall phenomena of leprosy, and we believe that it is, then the student ranking suggests that there is more stigma regarding leprosy in the general community than among leprosy patients. This interpretation is consistent with our earlier finding in the sense that patients correctly impute to the general community that more stigma exists there than the amount felt by the patients in relation to leprosy. Further studies will deal with the notion of stigma itself--which is considerably more complex than its usage here suggests.

Since students are not perhaps best regarded as representative of the general community, we obtained and analyzed responses from a second comparison population so as to broaden our baseline. Elementary school teachers (N = 24), teaching in the Fall semester, 1977, at a single school on Oahu proved to be predominately of Japanese ancestry, mostly female, and within the age range 25 to 61 years; they ranked the six diseases as follows:

Cancer  
Mental Illness  
Leprosy  
Venereal Disease  
Alcoholism  
Tuberculosis

When comparing this ranking with that of the patients we again find that leprosy is regarded by the teachers as third most severe, completely consistent in this respect with the student ranking.

Adults residing within one block of Leahi Hospital on the island of Oahu (N=43) provide yet another comparison group evaluating relative severity of the six diseases. The area is ethnically mixed, and middle class; it has mostly single family dwelling units and does not differ markedly from the general population in terms of age and sex. The rankings of these residents follow:

Cancer  
Mental Illness  
Leprosy  
Tuberculosis  
Alcoholism  
Venereal Disease

Leprosy is regarded by these respondents as third most severe, as is the case for the student and teacher respondents.

There was uniformity among the patients, students, teachers, and Leahi Hospital vicinity residents in ranking cancer as most severe and mental illness as the second most severe disease. All but the patients on the average ranked leprosy as third most severe. There is further agreement in all the rankings that alcoholism is always ranked between tuberculosis and venereal disease, although these latter two show inversions according to respondent group. We find on the whole that the sets of rankings across the several groups are remarkably stable.

We turn now to a consideration of certain additional patient characteristics that may help us to understand why the patients on the whole view their own disease as least severe among the six under investigation. Although inferences made on the basis of cross-tabulations where N is small do not produce high degrees of confidence in the conclusions, we looked over our interviews in the hopes of finding some items which would produce at least moderate levels of association with severity of leprosy as a disease, while lending themselves as well to reasonable interpretation.

One item asked whether the patient regarded him- or herself as disabled, and we hypothesized that those who self-evaluated as disabled would tend to view leprosy as somewhat more severe than those who did not. In fact the level of association was in the hypothesized direction with a coefficient value of  $\phi = .46$ . Another item asked whether the patient felt there was prejudice in the outside community

against leprosy patients; we hypothesized that those who saw prejudice outside would also tend to view leprosy as more severe than those who did not. Again the association proved to be in the hypothesized direction, but much smaller, with  $\phi = .10$ .

Whether patients regarded themselves as disabled clearly had a greater effect than did the question of prejudice imputed to the outside community. Still there was reason to suspect that the three items under analysis were possibly interrelated in more complex fashion, so we elaborated the observed relationship between disability and severity of leprosy, employing prejudice as a *test variable*, following the methodological contribution in this regard of the late Paul Lazarsfeld (1955).

Although elaboration procedures are most frequently employed in large surveys, the logic of the approach promised to be useful in the context within which we were working. When we computed the association between disability and prejudice, and found that  $\phi = .10$ , we knew that our original relationship between disability and severity of leprosy could not be spurious; we wanted to see, however, just what each partial table revealed, just in case it should prove that our original coefficient of .46 would be greater for those who saw prejudice on the outside, or for those who did not see prejudice on the outside. It was also possible that the two partial tables' association levels would be equal, in which event we would be led to disregard prejudice as an important variable in understanding the dynamics of why patients viewed their own disease as they did.

As it turned out, the level of association between disability and severity of leprosy increased to  $\phi = .59$  when computed only for those patients who said they saw prejudice in the outside community; it decreased to  $\phi = .24$  for those patients who did not see prejudice in the outside community. We felt that this additional specification of our first hypothesis strongly recommended in favor of retaining prejudice as a variable in our explanatory scheme; we had, through analysis, uncovered its role.

Our basic finding, succinctly put, amounts to this: leprosy patients who regard themselves as disabled are those who most often view leprosy as most severe (in the context of comparisons with five

other diseases), providing that they impute prejudice against leprosy to the outside community.

We have in an earlier part of this paper already established that three special populations (college students, elementary school teachers, and residents within one block of Leahi Hospital) view leprosy as considerably more severe than do the patients as a whole. Therefore we are led to an increased recognition of the import of social psychological processes in the formation of patient attitudes toward their own disease. Those who over recent years have regarded the "problem" of leprosy as one of public awareness and public education will take comfort in these findings. The fact that medical researchers have found a "cure" for leprosy appears insufficient or perhaps incomplete in that social stigma associated with the disease is not thereby eliminated.

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# RURAL-URBAN CONTRASTS OF KUMIAI'S IN HAWAII

Larry K. Stephenson

Amy A. Miyashiro

The Japanese term *kumiai*, literally translated as "group-join," is comparable to the sociological phrase "voluntary association" and in Japan today, it is used to specify a variety of voluntary associations. Within Hawaii, however, *kumiai* has a more restricted usage, referring to a very specific and limited type of voluntary association found among residents of Japanese ancestry. The purpose of this article is to describe, analyze, and compare four contemporary *kumiai*'s--two rural and two urban--in terms of their social, functional, spatial, and organizational components.

## *Kumiai* Development in Hawaii

The abolition of Japan's isolationist stance in the latter part of the nineteenth century coincided with the demand for large numbers of unskilled agricultural laborers to work in Hawaii. Beginning in 1886, large numbers of Japanese were recruited and brought to Hawaii as plantation laborers. While only 116 Japanese were enumerated in the 1884 Hawaii Census, by 1900 there were 61,111 in the islands (Lind, 1967:30). The vast majority of these people came from various rural prefectures in southern Japan, each of which had their own distinct cultural traits which often differed slightly from those of the mainstream culture.

The Japanese who settled in Hawaii, therefore, were in many cases relative strangers to each other (Lind, 1939:202). Although from a common general cultural background, these immigrants were forced to form new social units in a new and alien environment (Embree, 1939:400-407), one which was different in three fundamental respects from what the average Japanese farmer-immigrant had left. First, there were several different racial, ethnic, and cultural groups in Hawaii. Secondly, the Japanese in Hawaii were mostly strangers to one another as contrasted to the situation in Japan where most residents lived in the same community all their lives surrounded by their extended families. Thirdly, many of the

immigrants were either single men or married men unaccompanied by their families. Initially intending to accumulate some wealth and then return to Japan at the expiration of their contracts, most, however, remained in Hawaii. Without the support of the extended family unit, they found it necessary to try to establish community organizations to provide what they felt were essential family-type functions (Embree, 1939, 1944; Lind, 1939).

One such response was the *kumiai*, based on the neighborhood pattern of a network of social relationships as practiced in the old country. In Hawaii, the *kumiai*'s which were initially formed in plantation camps and other rural settlements and modeled after the *buraku*, incorporated primarily the functions of rotating responsibility and cooperation in emergencies and funerals.<sup>1</sup> Civic cooperation such as road or bridge building and repair was not necessary because of the government's role in this traditional Japanese function.

## Contemporary *Kumiai* Functions

Contemporary *kumiai*'s in Hawaii can be defined as neighborhood or community associations comprised of households voluntarily participating to primarily provide organizational, emotional, and monetary support to member households in the case of a death of a family member or a household disaster, such as destruction of or damage to a house. *Kumiai*'s have a specific set of responsibilities in the event of a death in a member household. These include the complete handling of funeral arrangements for the bereaved family; donation of a floral wreath or fixed sum of money to the family; and assuring that all *kumiai* members attend the funeral services and present an additional individual monetary gift to the family. In times of disaster resulting in damage to a member family's home, there is a monetary gift from the *kumiai*, individual gifts from member households, and individual donations of time and materials to help repair the damaged dwelling.

Although they can be defined in terms of the above stated generalizations, there are differences between

<sup>1</sup>See Embree (1941) for a detailed comparison of *buraku*'s in Japan and *kumiai*'s in Hawaii.



and among individual *kumiai's*, especially between urban and rural *kumiai's*. For each of the four *kumiai's*, a brief history of their development is presented and their current functions and status noted.

#### The Wainaku Camp Two *Kumiai*

The Wainaku Camp Two *Kumiai* is located within the boundaries of Wainaku Camp Two, a former plantation camp community nestled in the hills of Kaiwaiki on the island of Hawaii. A relatively isolated and readily identifiable community (the camp is completely surrounded by sugar cane fields), Wainaku Camp Two is no longer officially considered a plantation camp because the residents have purchased their houses and lots from the plantations. The name, however, remains.

Prior to World War II, the original *issei* [immigrant generation] in the camp established a *kumiai*-type organization entitled the Upper Wainaku Japanese Community Club. The Club apparently had no written set of rules and regulations, relying instead on a high degree of familiarity, mutual understanding, and cooperation. In addition to the usual *kumiai* functions, this Club also sponsored several traditional Japanese cultural celebrations, the three major ones of which were the *Shinnen-Kai*, a summer picnic or outing and the *Bonen-Kai*. At the outbreak of World War II, however, when all Japanese ethnic organizations and language schools were forced by the United States government to disband, the Upper Wainaku Japanese Community Club was dissolved.

In the early 1950's, a resident of Wainaku Camp Two heard about the formation of other *kumiai's* in the Hilo area and led a drive to organize one in the camp. After consultation with elder members of the community regarding the basic procedures and policies involved, an informal vote was taken, resulting in the establishment of the Wainaku Japanese Community Association in 1953. This post-World War II organization, which now possessed a written constitution, was comprised mainly of *nisei* ["second"-generation, American--born of immigrant parents] since many of the *issei* had either passed away or moved out of the community. Initial membership in this association was approximately seventy families.

In 1970, the name of the organization was changed to Wainaku Camp Two *Kumiai*. Over time, there has been a decrease of membership, which now stands at

forty-seven families. There has also been a decrease in the sponsorship of traditional Japanese celebrations; the only remaining social function is the annual summer picnic. This *kumiai* has also been concerned with and involved in volunteer activities outside the community boundaries. For example, monetary gifts were made to aid victims of the town of Kapoho on the island of Hawaii which was overrun by lava in 1959; direct manpower assistance was provided after a tsunami [tidal wave] in 1960 devastated part of Hilo; and monetary contributions were made to help sponsor tournaments in Hilo.

The current Wainaku Camp Two *Kumiai* constitution has several articles, dealing with such items as name of organization, objectives, officers and their duties, meetings and elections, projects, and social functions. No formal statement of the *kumiai's* boundaries has been made; rather it is just assumed that they correspond to the rather well-defined boundaries of the camp itself. There are also membership restrictions not formally stated but which are understood among the members of the *kumiai*. First, potential members must be sincerely interested in the objectives and functions of the *kumiai*. Secondly, the potential member family must be a resident of Wainaku Camp Two. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly, the family or at least one spouse, must be of Japanese ancestry. Before a family may join, it is considered customary for the president of the *kumiai* to approach the potential member and extend an invitation. Membership becomes official upon payment of an initiation fee of one dollar and annual dues of six dollars. Slightly less than 30 percent of the families in the camp are members of the *kumiai*; and, with the exception of three mixed marriages, all of the present membership is of Japanese ancestry.

#### The Kyū Pahoa *Kumiai*

The Kyū Pahoa *Kumiai* is located in the town of Pahoa, about 20 miles east of Hilo. Its present geographical boundaries are marked east and west by the use of two agreed-upon houses, respectively, a useful delimitation since this *kumiai* is linear in shape and spread out along both sides of the principal thoroughfare of Pahoa. However, boundaries north and south of this road are not specifically defined or even really considered by members of this *kumiai*, a lack of concern perhaps stemming from the fact that much of the surrounding area is still open land with very few homes.

Originally established in 1907 by *issei* immigrants who were among the original settlers of the town, the Kyū Pahoa *Kumiai* is one of the oldest continuously functioning *kumiai*'s known. Unfortunately, little is known about specific past activities and functions of this organization as there are few original members left. Also, written rules and regulations were apparently nonexistent in the early days of the organization.

The present Kyū Pahoa *Kumiai* does possess a written set of bylaws, an overview of which reveals a provision for the officers of the organization who serve for a fixed term under a rotation rather than an election system; a statement of purposes and objectives; a statement of non-partisanship; and requirements for membership which specify that members *must* be of Japanese ancestry, be willing to cooperate in the *kumiai*'s functions, and be a resident of the area understood to be circumscribed by the *kumiai*'s boundaries. Finally, there is an interesting provision for those members who move out of the *kumiai* to an area where no other *kumiai* exists: they may elect to remain a member of the Kyū Pahoa *Kumiai*.<sup>2</sup> This provision holds, however, only if the member family does not move completely out of the general Pahoa area.

At present, there are fifty-four families who are members of the Kyū Pahoa *Kumiai*, comprising about 70 percent of the families that currently reside within the generally understood area. Three other member families reside outside the *kumiai* boundaries in a newer subdivision located a few miles from Pahoa. Consistent with stated bylaws, the current membership is drawn solely from those of Japanese ancestry. The only social function currently sponsored by the Kyū Pahoa *Kumiai* is the *Shinnen-Kai* an event which is sponsored every other year unless, however, there has been a death or disaster in the *kumiai*; the *Shinnen-Kai* is then cancelled for that year.

#### The Likeke-Makalani *Kumiai*

The Likeke-Makalani *Kumiai*, formed in October of 1975, is a relatively new organization. Located along

<sup>2</sup> This provision was also observed in the 1930's in Kona by Embree (1941:39), who noted that "The same applies to *buraku* membership in rural Japan."

Likeke, Makalani, and Kipa Streets in the city of Hilo, this *kumiai*'s boundaries are coincident with those of the Lahikina Subdivision, a middle-class development begun in the early 1970's. Wedged between older existing neighborhoods on two sides and bounded on the other two by a municipal golf course and pasture, respectively, the Lahikina Subdivision is a clearly visible and identifiable neighborhood. In 1972 a Lahikina Community Association was formed, initially to pressure the subdivision developer to repair and improve some of the homes in the development. Later the goals of this group were widened to encourage recreational, social, and welfare activities in the neighborhood. However, after several deaths had occurred within the membership of the Association and no direct assistance was provided to the bereaved families by the Association, a sense of dissatisfaction led some members to desire a *kumiai*. The older neighborhoods adjacent to the Lahikina Subdivision had already established a *kumiai* of their own some years previously and this organization was not open to further membership. Hence, the Likeke-Makalani *Kumiai* was initiated as an alternative to the Community Association and with a primary stated purpose of offering assistance in the case of bereavements and disasters.

In May 1976 the Likeke-Makalani *Kumiai* consisted of twenty-eight of the sixty-one families living in the Lahikina Subdivision. Membership is open to any household interested in the objectives of the *kumiai*; one becomes a member upon payment of a four dollar initiation fee and annual dues of three dollars. The only membership restriction is geographical: members of the *kumiai* must be residents of the Lahikina Subdivision; and, membership is terminated upon moving out of the neighborhood. The *kumiai* is governed by a written set of bylaws.

The Likeke-Makalani *Kumiai* is thus a new organization, modeled along old institutional lines, located in a newly created neighborhood and organized because there was a felt need in the community for this type of mutual voluntary assistance. Ethnically, this *kumiai* is quite cosmopolitan as perhaps best exemplified by its (almost humorous at times) attempt to organize proper arrangements following a death in a Jewish family in the neighborhood. This cosmopolitan characteristic can partially explain the relatively low proportion of potential to actual members, for in other older neighborhoods inhabited primarily by people of Japanese ancestry there is generally a higher membership level.

The Lower Kawaiilani *Kumiai*

Located in older middle-class residential areas of Hilo known as Waiakea Homesteads, the Lower Kawaiilani *Kumiai* is rectangular in shape with stated boundaries along the middle of four intersecting streets. This *kumiai* was originally part of a larger one called the Kawaiilani *Kumiai*. However, as more families settled in the Waiakea Homesteads area (especially after the 1948 tsunami) it grew in size to over 100 member households. With increasing size the *kumiai* became more difficult to manage. Thus, in 1955 the Kawaiilani *Kumiai* was split geographically into three separate and smaller units: (1) the Upper Kawaiilani *Kumiai*, so named because it was upslope from (2) the Lower Kawaiilani *Kumiai*, and (3) the Nohea *Kumiai*.

The stated boundaries of the Lower Kawaiilani *Kumiai* have remained unchanged since its inception in 1955, and it now has a membership of 106 of a possible 124 households. Such a high ratio of actual to potential members stems from the fact that the neighborhood is largely comprised of Japanese-American families. An interesting situation exists with this *kumiai* as there is not a one-to-one correspondence between its stated boundaries and its present de facto boundaries, part of which results from spatial overlapping with the boundaries of other *kumiai*'s, and part from the desire to exclude a small area of old plantation camp houses inhabited by low income families.

Membership in the Lower Kawaiilani *Kumiai* is geographically based: members of the *kumiai* must reside within the stated boundaries (preferably within the de facto boundaries), and membership is terminated one year after a family moves from the neighborhood. Membership is open to any household interested in the objective of the *kumiai* and is made by paying an initiation fee of four dollars and annual dues of three dollars. The Lower Kawaiilani *Kumiai* is organizationally more sophisticated than the Likeke-Makalani *Kumiai*, as it has a much more extensive and detailed set of bylaws.

There is an interesting two-tiered spatial hierarchy in the Lower Kawaiilani *Kumiai*, with first the officers who are charged with *kumiai*-wide responsibilities and second, seven "block chairmen" who represent each subdivision block or street and who are responsible for contacting families and passing on information from and about the *kumiai*. Each

block chairman is responsible for a distinctly bounded area. This spatial division of labor has proven to be an efficient response to the problem of handling increasing membership numbers over time. Unlike *kumiai* officers who are elected, the block chairmen are chosen by a process of rotation; thus every member household will eventually serve as a liaison with its immediate neighbors.

It has also been traditional for the Lower Kawaiilani *Kumiai* to sponsor an annual picnic to help promote fellowship among members. While popular in the past, the attendance at this picnic has been steadily declining over the past ten years due to life cycle shifts within the area, i.e., with children maturing and moving out of their parents' homes.

The Lower Kawaiilani *Kumiai* can be considered an example of an older (i.e., compared to the Likeke-Makalani *Kumiai*) established urban *kumiai*, one which is a very open, modern, and democratic organization and whose procedures and policies are specified by an extensive set of written bylaws. Formerly part of a larger *kumiai*, the Lower Kawaiilani *Kumiai* has now itself emerged as a rather large organization comparable in size to its parent organization.

## Conclusions

Comparing those organizations, it can be noted that the primary common characteristic shared by all four *kumiai*'s was that of general objectives: to assist members in time of death or disaster. *Kumiai*'s were initially begun to assist member families with the actual preparation of the deceased's body for services and burial (Embree, 1941), functions which today are universally handled by commercial funeral homes. It appears, however, that *kumiai*'s still perform a valuable, needed and appreciated role acting as a buffer or agent between the grieving family and the funeral home, thus allowing the family opportunity to properly grieve their loss without being burdened by details related to services and burial. Recognition of this mental health-type function was recently given to *kumiai*'s when a section in the Hawaii County Health Plan was devoted to them.

Each *kumiai* possessed a name corresponding to the geographic location of the respective community area, a correspondence also related to restricting membership to those families residing within the recognized boundaries of the *kumiai*'s. This geographical or spatial constraint upon membership is typical of an

institution which "has a specific physical location ... and which ordinarily functions in and for all or part of the population of a well-demarcated area or domain" (Wagner, 1975:12). Reliance on a written document reflecting rules and procedures was another characteristic common to the four *kumiai*'s studied. The ethnic background of *kumiai* membership is predominantly Japanese-American, reflecting the cultural origins of the *kumiai* as an institution. Other reasons for this pattern are that the areas where *kumiai*'s are found tend to have a large Japanese-American population; that a *kumiai* which is open to all ethnic groups may not attract members who are not Japanese-American and thus not familiar with and interested in the objectives and functions of a *kumiai*; and, that unwritten rules of a *kumiai* may purposefully restrict membership to only those of Japanese ancestry.

In Japan men have traditionally been responsible for organizing and running *kumiai*-type groups, an organizational aspect carried over to the *kumiai*'s of Hawaii. The officers in the *kumiai*'s studied are and have always been men. Another *kumiai* tradition is that membership is open only to those families who own or are buying their own homes; renters are denied membership. Three of the four *kumiai*'s studied periodically sponsor a social function for their membership, with the newest *kumiai* being the exception. Both of the rural *kumiai*'s at one time also sponsored traditional Japanese cultural celebrations, interest in which has declined over time as membership has shifted from *issei* to *nisei* and subsequent generation families. Also related to this generational shift in membership is declining membership numbers in the rural *kumiai*'s, a trend noted as early as the 1930's by both Embree (1941:103) and Lind (1939:211).

The fact that *kumiai*'s not only survived in older rural settlements but are still being formed in newly developed urban neighborhoods seems to defy earlier predictions about their long-term viability as a territorially based institution as exemplified in the statements made by Lind (1939:211) that "Second-generation participation in such organizations as the kumi ... has become more and more perfunctory ..." and Embree (1941:103) "that territorial groupings are being replaced by occupational and class groupings." Perhaps one reason for the continued presence of *kumiai*'s is that while social class may vary between *kumiai*'s, each individual

organization appears to be rather homogeneous in terms of class structure, homogeneity resulting from the relatively small neighborhood or community area of responsibility. *Kumiai*'s are thus found in wealthier upper- and upper-middle-class neighborhoods as well as rural camps. There is no known accurate count of *kumiai*'s in Hilo or on the island of Hawaii; however, a conservative estimate of 150 to 200 may be put forward.

In summary, it can be noted that the rural *kumiai*'s (1) have suffered general membership decline over time; (2) have membership restricted along ethnic (i.e., Japanese) lines; (3) have informal, generally understood spatial boundaries; (4) have tried to maintain sponsorship of traditional Japanese cultural celebrations. In contrast, the urban *kumiai*'s: (1) have either stable or increasing membership; (2) have opened their organization to all ethnic groups; (3) have relied on formal, stated boundaries; (4) have been more interested in social get-togethers than cultural celebrations. As an institution transferred from the cultural and geographic setting of Japan to the Hawaiian Islands by Japanese immigrants, the *kumiai* thus seems to retain its more traditional form in the rural areas where change is resisted, while like many ethnic institutions introduced to urban areas, *kumiai*'s tend to be less tradition bound and more cosmopolitan when found in the cities.

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## CITIZEN'S BAND RADIO ON OAHU

Gary Fuller

The growth of communication on the citizen's band radio frequencies is an event of considerable social and political significance. With the production of inexpensive C.B. transceivers and the advent of instantaneous, free licensing, tens of millions of Americans have had the opportunity to construct new interaction networks and to exchange information with individuals who would otherwise be separated from them by barriers of culture, class, and distance. It is worth noting that the development of radio broadcasting in the twentieth century permitted national leaders to communicate directly with their followers, a development that greatly increased the political power of heads of state and which may be the principal means by which the modern "dictator" holds power. The same power, albeit in diluted form, has been provided the citizenry of the United States. The full potential of C.B. radio as a social institution has yet to be realized, yet its power to influence collective action has been demonstrated repeatedly.

C.B. radio, like some other American innovations, was a late arrival on Oahu. As recently as early 1976, only a few channels of the 23 then available were heavily used. The great popularity of C.B. radio on the mainland tended to be generated by long-distance truckers and sustained by the boredom of interstate highway travel; obviously, these circumstances had little relevance for Oahu. When C.B. did become widely accepted on Oahu, it was similar to its mainland counterpart, but it has been modified by local circumstances. In particular, the jargon employed is liberally spiced with local terminology. The user requesting a clear channel on Oahu, for example, will usually say "Break Puka Seven," "Puka," in this case, replacing the word "Zero." Similarly, the social ties formed around Oahu's channels are considerably tighter than those found on the mainland. Indeed, the C.B. frequencies on Oahu seem to be a microcosm of island society in general, replete with a complex system of ethnic group pride and bias, and reflecting a continual conflict between local values and mainland influences.

Social scientists have failed to examine the C.B. phenomenon in any great detail, probably because many consider it a "fad," or because C.B. is perceived to belong exclusively to the lower and lower-middle class. Certainly, for many, C.B. is a fad, and interest soon fades; for others, however, C.B. is a way of life which will not be easily discarded. Moreover, on Oahu one can find C.B. operators from virtually every stratum of society, and from every age and ethnic group. In brief, then, C.B. radio affords the social scientist an opportunity to monitor aspects of social behavior in an incredibly efficient and comfortable way.

This article is derived from research conducted in July and August, 1976 and again in August and September, 1977. The purpose of the research was to identify and describe the ways in which groups of individuals compete for space on the C.B. channels, with "space" in this instance pertaining to radio frequency space rather than geographic area. The intent of this article, however, is not to report fully the results of the research, but, instead, to describe the potential of C.B. radio for social science research in general on Oahu.

### Who Uses C.B. Radios on Oahu?

Every radio transmitter in the United States must be licensed by the Federal Communications Commission. In theory, then, it should be possible to determine with some accuracy the number of C.B. users and their location. In fact, however, each C.B. licensee may own and operate a large number of transmitters, and his immediate family and employees may operate the transmitter under his license. Receivers need not be licensed and, although most are coupled with transmitters ("transceivers"), a growing number of multi-band receivers contain the citizen's band. Thus, the actual number of people with access to C.B. communication can only be surmised. The FCC estimated 18,000 licenses were held by residents of Oahu in mid-1976. It is not unreasonable, therefore, to assume that perhaps 50,000 residents had access to C.B. communications in 1977.

During the course of this investigation, transmissions were heard from every geographic area of Oahu, from operators ranging in age from four to seventy-eight years of age, and running an occupational gamut from the professions through the chronically unemployed. A random sample of C.B.

communications on Oahu would be unquestionably biased towards those with time to be near the radio (the unemployed, the retired, housewives) and towards those with job-related access to a C.B. transceiver (truck and taxi drivers, salesmen, some construction workers). This bias, as well as others inherent in C.B. radio, can be minimized by appropriate sampling procedures. In brief, as implied by the large number of people with access to C.B. radio the band is capable of providing a sample which is reasonably representative of Oahu's total population. Even if this were not the case, however, the population of C.B. users constitutes a significant social phenomenon in its own right, one deserving of the attention of social scientists.

#### Sampling and Analytic Methodology

A large number of potential research questions can be answered by the proper monitoring of C.B. radio. For example, the daily mobility of a sample of the population can be studied more easily (and probably more accurately) through the use of the C.B. channels than by any other means. Similarly, the attitudes of individuals towards news events can be quickly gauged. Any particular research question necessarily would have its own sampling and analytic procedures. There are, however, two sampling concerns which would be common to virtually all research questions.

First, it is necessary to select a sampling procedure appropriate to the goals of the research. Thousands of transmissions are made daily on Oahu, over 40 A.M. channels and, potentially, over an additional 80 sideband channels. Fortunately, the channels themselves provide sample stratification. Some channels are used almost exclusively by military personnel while others are dominated by local residents of various Oahu communities. Each channel has its own clearly distinguishable character, and this character changes cyclically during daily and weekly periods in easily predictable patterns. Longer term, less predictable, patterns are also discernible; when a particular channel becomes overcrowded, it is not unusual for a group of users to break away from it and establish themselves on a lesser used frequency. To some extent, the researcher can influence the timing of transmissions over a given channel. Often C.B. radio operators will monitor a channel for long periods without transmitting, most often because they have exhausted routine "recognition" exchanges with

channel regulars and have little reason to transmit further. A transmission by the researcher can often break this period of silence so that an empty channel becomes extremely busy.

Second, several factors serve to bias any sample drawn by geographic area on Oahu. The quality of the researcher's receiving equipment, topography, propagation conditions, and interference limit the areas that may be sampled. C.B. transmissions from the mainland U.S. and Asia to Hawaii are routine occurrences; contacts with Australia, South America and the South Pacific Islands are not unusual. (Most of these are illegal since only emergency communications may take place beyond 150 miles.) Nevertheless, contacts among all points on Oahu are seldom possible. This limitation can be overcome by the use of mobile C.B. equipment (i.e., a transceiver installed in a vehicle), but the extra cost and time involved should be compared with the value of complete areal coverage.

Initial observations indicated that each C.B. channel had a dimension of territoriality and its own ideology. C.B. license applicants are not required to know either radio theory or the F.C.C. rules (Part 95) governing the citizen's band. The inevitable result is that each channel community develops its own peculiar interpretation of the rules, its own folklore related to radio technology, and its own means of dealing with those who challenge channel norms. Indeed, the situation can be compared with the history of Christianity, replete with claims of orthodoxy, counter claims of heresy, arguments over private interpretation of F.C.C. "scripture," and the development of sanctions against backsliders. Indeed, one of the most amusing aspects of C.B. radio is the rare confrontation between "science" (i.e., the operator with an electronics background) and "religion" (i.e., the typical operator, to whom electronics is a dark mystery). Science is always outvoted, and usually seeks refuge either in sideband operation or in amateur radio.

Those who become frequent operators on the A.M. channels often develop fierce loyalty to the community that inhabits their chosen channel. As with other hobbies, C.B. radio can become a consuming passion that threatens ties with family, friends, and the broader community. Operators who spend 12 to 16 hours per day monitoring and transmitting are not unusual. Channel denizens tend to enforce this regimen on others; a user who does not respond to a call

can expect criticism when he next transmits. This criticism ranges from gentle rebukes through complete shunning, a sanction which seems to be as effective on the citizen's band as it is in conservative Christian communities.

When the research was begun in 1976, there was good reason to suspect that severe competition for radio frequency space was about to intensify. C.B. radio in 1976 on Oahu was dominated by military personnel, most of whom brought their interest and their radios with them from the mainland U.S. Civilian haoles [Caucasian] were also present in considerable numbers. Although local, non-haole operators were present, they tended to be confined to a few channels. During the middle of 1976, FCC rule changes concerning C.B. radio began to have their impact on Oahu. The transmitter license fee was reduced from \$20.00 to \$4.00, the band could be devoted to "hobby" communication rather than the "business-related" purposes for which C.B. radio had been established, restrictions on the use of certain channels were virtually eliminated, and "instant" licensing replaced a three month delay between application and licensing. Paralleling changes in the FCC rules was the rapidly declining cost of C.B. transceivers and their marketing by national mail order firms. In early 1976, it was likely that the majority of C.B. transceivers on Oahu had been purchased on the mainland and brought here by their owners. By the middle of the year, a number of retail outlets were available, several of which were part-time businesses established by C.B. operators. The cost of C.B. transceivers followed a pattern similar to that of the pocket calculator. One particular transceiver sold by a national mail order firm retailed for \$359 in early 1976, for \$299 in June, 1976, for \$259 in September, 1976, and for \$119 in September, 1977. These basic changes in 1976, the extension of C.B. radio to 40 channels in 1977, and the unexpected elimination of the \$4.00 licensing fee, also in 1977, effectively opened the band on Oahu to Kamaaina [native-born] residents.

Most of the transition between 1976 and 1977 was anticipated, and was the basis on which the research was initiated. A complex sampling procedure was created and employed during the months of June and July, 1976. The sample was designed to record the content of 600 C.B. conversations, of which 200 were between local residents only, 200 were between military personnel only, and 200 were between military personnel and local residents. (The latter

category was sufficiently rare so as to require more than 90 percent of the time devoted to data collection.) Military personnel involved were stationed at the Kaneohe Marine Corps Air Station, at Wheeler Air Force Base, at Schofield Barracks, at Barber's Point and at Bellows Field in Waimanalo.

A sample of 600 conversations was also taken during the months of August and September, 1977. It had originally been anticipated that precisely the same sampling procedure would be used for both years. The very changes which the research strategy had been designed to uncover, however, made it necessary to redesign the sampling procedure. In particular, information on social economic status and ethnicity which had been easy to retrieve in 1976 proved difficult indeed to obtain in 1977. The greater competition for radio frequency "space" in 1977 apparently has produced greater group cohesion so that most denizens of a channel know a great deal about their fellow inhabitants. Information such as occupation, place of employment, and ethnicity which was readily exchanged in 1976 was rare in 1977, and could be elicited only with difficulty. In general, it required two to three times the amount of channel monitoring to uncover this basic information, and a small portion could be recovered only second-hand (i.e., through transmissions which discussed the occupation or ethnicity of a user not party to the transmission).

Two sets of variables were recorded. The first related to the content of the conversation, the second concerned the socioeconomic status of those engaged in the conversation. Seldom could both these categories be satisfied in a single conversation. Much of the socioeconomic information had to be uncovered over long periods of time, and in approximately 15 percent of the cases, could not be recovered at all. The task was made easier by the assumption that enlisted military personnel of similar rank were approximately the same age and of the same socioeconomic status. Pretesting indicated that a large number of variables could be derived from C.B. conversations, and that the basic problem (as with most social science research) was deciding which best measured competition for space, and how these variables should be scaled.

Several influences were detected in the data which, though partially related to the matter of space competition, seem to suggest future uses of C.B. for the study of Oahu's society. Three of these



influences, leadership, conflict and ideology, will be described here.

### Leadership

In 1976, most citizen band channels on Oahu had an acknowledged leader. He or she was the individual who transmitted most frequently, and whom most people on the channel called at least once each day. Generally, the leader possessed an expensive radio and antenna system and held an occupation which permitted continuous monitoring of the channel from early in the morning to late at night.

The leader assumed two responsibilities, and his ability to perform them seemed to be the basis on which his leadership rested. First, the leader provided for group cohesion by scheduling regular social events ("Breaks," in C.B. jargon) for the channel users. In some instances these events were extravaganzas involving hundreds of C.B. operators. Second, the leader directed the operation of the channel and insured that appropriate measures be taken against outsiders who violated channel procedures. A portion of this responsibility was carried out by the establishment of working relationships with leaders of other channels; these relationships were cemented by group gatherings of "friendly" channel users.

The parallel between C.B. and street gangs is striking. In both cases, social life centers around the group and the leadership and responsibilities of members were centered on "protecting the turf." C.B. users were also likely to wear emblems representing their affiliation with the channel and to express hostility towards the users of other channels considered as "unfriendly."

By 1977, the "gangism" aspect of C.B. on Oahu had become more pronounced, but with some major differences. The social groups formed by users of a particular channel became exceptionally closed to the point where social penetration of these groups by new operators, or operators from other channels, was exceptionally difficult. The role of the channel leader, however, has disappeared from all but one or two channels. Two specific outcomes have emerged. First, channels have become more open to use by outsiders, just as the social groupings have become more closed. Second, in the absence of channel leadership, violations of FCC rules governing transmissions have become more common than legal operation. Profanity, for

example, was totally absent from all conversations observed in 1976, but was found to occur in nearly 20 percent of the 1977 sample. The relationship between the decline of channel leadership and increase in illegal operation was not unexpected. Most C.B. operators who violate FCC rules probably do so because (1) they are ignorant of the rules, or (2) they are inexperienced with radio transmission and inadvertently break the rules; this is true in cases of profanity, since even experienced operators occasionally "forget" they are on the air (indeed, this happens even in commercial broadcasting). The channel leaders served to explain the rules to the ignorant and to remind the forgetful. To some extent they also brought group sanctions to bear against repeat offenders.

A number of alternative explanations can be advanced to account for the decline of the channel leader's role, all of which can be sustained by the data collected. The most plausible, however, is that the users of a particular channel have become so numerous that leadership by a single individual has become impossible. Alternatively, it is tempting to consider the transition of C.B. dominance by the military to the civilian population as a factor in the decline of channel leadership.

### Conflict

Hostility is a particularly common feature of the citizen's band. It ranges from gentle rebukes over the air through threats of bodily harm to the carrying out of these threats. The incidence of hostility declined slightly from the 1976 to 1977 samples, but its characteristics varied sharply. Over 90 percent of hostility expressed over the air in 1976 were between local residents only, or between military personnel only. By 1977, over 95 percent of hostile transmissions were between local residents and the military. Since the 1977 military sample was heavily biased towards the Marine Corps, there may be some slight reason to believe this bias accounts for a portion of the increased hostility between the military and local residents. Such a belief would depend on the notion that Marines are more prone to conflict with civilians than are members of the other armed services. Nothing observed in this research supports that belief. In fact, the 1976 sample of military-civilian conflict, though too small to permit meaningful conclusions, nevertheless indicated that the Air Force was involved in the greatest incidence of conflict, and the Marine Corps the least.



Several generalizations about conflicts over the air can be drawn from the observations. Most basically, conflicts between members of the military tended to be based on matters apart from the radio transmission itself; the transmitted communication was a means of expressing anger. Expressions of hostility involving local residents, on the other hand, invariably involved the transmissions themselves, and appeared to have no antecedents. Conflicts among the military were usually resolved over the air. The typical resolution consisted of each party explaining his position, the identification of points of agreement, and an apology by one or both parties. The same general scenario occurred among local residents who spoke standard English. When other local residents were party to a conflict, however, there was a marked inability to articulate their position, and the level of hostility increased. Third parties to these conflicts then attempted to get the feuding parties to meet face to face; when these efforts were successful, a peaceful outcome was invariably obtained. It is hardly surprising that inarticulation can be responsible for generating and sustaining conflict, but the patterns observed suggest that non-verbal cues among pidgin speakers may be a necessary (although certainly not a sufficient) condition for conflict resolution.

Racial and ethnic group slurs and epithets were totally absent from the 1976 sample, but were observed repeatedly in 1977. In three instances, entire conversations between local non-haole residents were devoted entirely to the shortcomings of haoles. Military personnel generally failed to distinguish among the various non-haole racial and ethnic groups on Oahu, but lumped them together under a variety of terms, none of which could be considered complimentary.

#### Ideologies

Expressions of political or religious ideology, broadly construed, were observed only twice in the 1976 sample; both brought rebukes from others on the channel. In 1977, statements of a religious nature were commonplace, and several conversations were devoted entirely to religious matters. Expressions of political opinion were still relatively infrequent (only 23 were observed in 1977), but this must be weighed against the fact that 1976 was an election year in Hawaii, whereas 1977 was not. This greater tendency to express ideology is entirely accounted for by the growth of local C.B. operators; all such expressions in 1977 were made by local residents.

Recently, certain channels have initiated regular round table over-the-air discussions of matters of concern to C.B. operators. These discussions have touched increasingly upon matters of political and religious ideology. It seems likely that this tendency will increase with time.

#### Conclusion

C.B. radio does not, of course, provide all the needs of social science research. It is best viewed as an intelligence-gathering system which can be used to suggest productive lines of research, and to weigh the contemporary relevance of certain research questions. For what it provides, it is unsurpassed. Perhaps the best illustration of its value, though a frightening one, is its ability to convey military intelligence. Even a casual C.B. listener can determine that certain military units are undermanned and overworked, that parts for equipment repair are unavailable, that certain aircraft are not performing at expected levels, and that drug abuse has undermined the effectiveness of certain units. Certainly, this is information that in previous years would have required enormous expenditure and risk to attain. Surely there are implications here for academic research as well!

Hawaii--we have tried to adapt to the world rather than reinterpret it for more local purposes. This is a common experience in the literature of modernization: local cultures lose their coherence in the face of growth and change. The publication hiatus of this journal is an understandable datum, a result of structural factors leading our attentions elsewhere, not the least of which is simply the need to deal with large numbers of students in a modern multi-versity.

By 1979, the population growth appears to be leveling off and the subjects in the social laboratory have begun to reassess what is happening to them in an attempt to impose desirable patterns onto the future. The Statewide Constitutional Convention, the University's new Academic Development Plan III, the republication of this journal in the Department of Sociology, are all indicators--as well as promoters--of the awareness that Hawaii can be a special place that makes a unique contribution to the world and to the social science study of that world. An example is the energy crisis, and public debate centers around the fact of worldwide interdependence on petroleum, possibilities of our self-sufficiency, and the likelihood of Hawaii serving as a model for the use of a combination of alternative energy sources. Various groups in Hawaii have begun to discuss life-style effects of energy use not only on the mass society issues of housing, transportation, and communication, but also on traditional values and the changing meaning of *aloha* and *'ohana* solidarities.

Within the international social sciences a new sociology of knowledge has also been proposed in recent years that can provide us with a way to incorporate the latest debates of the public issues into the study of social process in Hawaii. In summary, the theories argue that everyday life explanations of social process, varying by subculture and locality, can be viewed as comparable to scientific explanations, which also vary by discipline and subject. The explanations may have different logics and purposes, but all people, whether social scientists, community leaders, students, or locals in various settings, are dealing with social realities that are multiple, intersubjective, and constructed by appeals to logic, evidence, and common sense--whatever those may be among different audiences. As social science training becomes more professionalized, the traditional scientific value of objectivity becomes

harder to take for granted, perhaps to be replaced by canons of credibility in which one's perspectives and value-preferences are explicit so as to be counted or discounted by one's audience. Objectivity can continue to be an ideal, and the self-evidence of facts can be proclaimed, even as these are to be viewed as functions of unique perspectives, historical trends, and relativistic human conditions. Thus, for some purposes we educate our students to professional sophistication, while we also can encourage them to be more articulate about their personal and everyday life perceptions and experiences, and the evidence and value-perspectives on which they are based.

The new editorial board of *Social Process in Hawaii*, made up of sociologists, is aware of these conditions, while still sensitive to the often clear differences of tone and style between articles written by professional and novice social scientists--grounded in theory and based on systematic and carefully processed data--and articles written by undergraduate students and community members--grounded in an everyday life context and based on the personal experience of an insider. We wish to include both kinds of contributions, for a number of reasons.

First, and most obviously, we wish to maintain the traditional strengths of the earliest issues of this journal, that it was a department project uniting professors and students in a common sociological enterprise contributing to our community's knowledge of itself. Second, we continue to be aware of the journal as a powerful instrument for professional training, as our students learn to contribute to accumulating scientific knowledge.

Third, we wish to advance the idea that the Hawaii microcosm remains a social laboratory but in ways that are not as obvious as they used to be. Here we want to emphasize that the world has become more like Hawaii as Hawaii has become more like the world. The modern world is smaller and more interdependent than before the age of mass technology, and environmentalists promote concepts such as "small is beautiful" and "spaceship earth." As journalist Bob Krauss has written in his book, *The Island Way*, living on an island does affect people's relations to one another, putting limits on individualistic competition while clarifying how each person's actions impinge on the common ecosystem. In

THE ROLE OF LOCAL DOCUMENTATION IN  
*SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII*

Michael G. Weinstein

PART THREE: LOCAL DOCUMENTATION

A major theme of the history of the University of Hawaii Sociology Department has been the view of Hawaii as a social laboratory, wherein the variables of social process were relatively distinct and the setting manageably small and self-contained. Especially for the scientific study of race relations, Hawaii was a natural experiment. Beyond the substance of that claim in the work of Adams, Lind, Glick, Hormann and others, has been its effect on our teaching, as we encouraged students and graduates to document their perceptions and experiences, and those of their ethnic groups and communities, toward a series of goals: accumulating case materials toward an eventual 'sociology of Hawaii,' demonstrating the relativity and comparability of diverse perspectives of history, and inviting students and members of the general community to contribute as para-professionals to the social science enterprise. Many articles in earlier issues of *Social Process in Hawaii* testify to the utility of these goals and to progress in their attainment. The earlier generation of students and faculty can be rightfully proud of their work and contributions.

During the last fifteen years, however, population explosion in the state, the University, and the Department has taken its toll, diminishing our attention to the theme of 'social laboratory,' even as its utility might have become more obvious. Rapid growth, as economic development, as urbanization, as integration with national and world cultures, has led us to focus on the present more than to seek out links with the past, and has led us to explain local events by reference to general patterns elsewhere. We became less a social laboratory and more a microcosm of the modern world. Universalistic standards of scholarship and teaching have led us, unintentionally, to de-emphasize our local audience in favor of communicating with fellow professionals around the world. We have become more likely to view student papers as amateur and lacking in theoretical sophistication when compared to the expanding body of social science literature worldwide, and--like nearly all institutions in

many ways this is still a hypothesis: does the public consciousness of interdependence become more explicit as the limits of our environment become more obvious? This is a different, but related, issue from the self-consciousness characteristic of the old social laboratory, where ethnic and class marginality led our students to be aware of social process; that kind of self-consciousness may continue to exist, but it is based on modernization and the need to adapt to rapid social change, and that is not so obvious a contrast. Thus, we wish to continue to include in the journal documentations of insider/local views, in which the data are not only the experiences and events of Hawaii, but also the interpretations and value-perspectives of an island consciousness.

The following two articles, by Eric Yamamoto and Deborah Chang, are of the genre we have been discussing. Both articles are from the concluding chapters of monographs and are proceeded, in the originals, by carefully collected and presented data that support the personal and insider reflections reprinted here. The complete works are available in the Hormann Prize files at the University of Hawaii Department of Sociology, and Yamamoto's is also available at the University libraries in the New College Senior Projects collection.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LOCAL

Eric Yamamoto\*

This essay is from Chapter 7 of Eric Yamamoto's senior project, a 148-page senior thesis entitled "From 'Japanee' to Local: Community Change and the Re-definition of Sansei Identity in Hawaii," which shared the first Hormann Prize Award in Sociology in 1975. The major data source of the study was a series of interviews with "18 to 24 year-old Sansei of Oahu of middle-class backgrounds," and Mr. Yamamoto notes in his introduction: "Indications are that most of Hawaii's Sansei can be classified as a part of this group I am delineating. I am such a Sansei. Understanding the Sansei of Hawaii is one way of helping me understand myself in the context of my peers and the interplay of existing and developing social, cultural, and economic forces in Hawaii. Also, the middle-class Sansei provides a significant group for study because they are right in the middle of 'The Problem' in the changing Hawaiian society. They are neither Hawaiians nor Haoles. They are neither recent migrants nor descendants of prehistory inhabitants of Hawaii. They are neither upper-class nor lower-class. The Sansei provide a group through which most of the important questions about Hawaiian society can be raised. What is Hawaii's present situation and what are its future prospects?"

The Editors

### *Local-Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*

The emergence and passing of several terms identifying a composite person of Hawaii, unique to Hawaii, suggests the existence of an evolving island identity. The term "Kanaka" became popular before the Second World War. It connoted island males who led stereotyped Hawaiian life styles (fun loving, unconcerned, lazy). "Kamaaina" was a term used to describe people of Hawaii with their roots in Hawaii. James Michener, in his book *Hawaii*, imagined a "Golden Man" of Hawaii arising from the melting and fusing of races.

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Sociologist Andrew Lind (1974) surmised that the term "local" first emerged in Hawaii during the Massie trial of 1931, distinguishing the alleged island-bred local rapists and what they represented, from the mainland-bred military plaintiffs. The term came into prominence during World War II, differentiating Hawaii's fighting men from their mainland counterparts. It seems that until the mid-1960s the term local was not used as anything more than a label for distinguishing island people from mainlanders.

Interviews with social scientists and second generation Japanese-Americans and a survey of social science literature references to local indicate that only beginning in the mid-1960s did the term local take on a new cogent meaning. Since 1965 there have been an increasing number of references in Hawaii's social science literature to local in terms of culture and identification. The more substantive of these references approach local from one of three general perspectives: (1) as a polycultural culture, (2) as a value-orientation, and (3) as a form of culture creation.

Each of these approaches embodies one dimension of Localism. Collectively they provide valuable background to a beginning understanding of a developing phenomenon in Hawaii.

#### *As a Polycultural Culture*

The approach to *local* as a polycultural culture embodies the conception of local (and local culture) as the product of a blending of different cultures in Hawaii. Dennis Ogawa (1973:155) maintains that all of Hawaii's ethnic groups exist in the milieu of such a local culture.

When one speaks about the Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiians, or Filipinos in Hawaii, one is not talking about separate ethnic units whose communities do not have interactions with each other. Rather one must speak of a shared island heritage of cultural background and life style.

Bernhard Hormann's (1965:11) concept of "Pidgin Culture" (a local, provincial, or regional culture) is similar. He maintains that a "Pidgin Culture" grows out of a common dialect, Pidgin English, used

between ethnic groups, which facilitates cultural sharing in terms of dress, foods, customs, etc.

A survey study conducted in 1973 by a sociology class at the University of Hawaii theorized that "Localness" is directly related to polyculturalness, defining polycultural as "... ability to live and participate in the mixed culture comfortably, understanding and sharing some cultural aspects of other ethnic groups." The study concluded that, "the more cosmopolitan a person is the more he tends to consider polyculturalness the meaning of local." (Hockaday, 1973:2).

Gerald Meredith in 1965 saw a developing polycultural local culture that was functional to the collective socialization of adolescents in Hawaii.

A stereotype of a "local" is built and supported by the "youth culture" through symbols such as clothing, fads, hair styles, and use of Pidgin English. The "swell guy" image of the male and the "glamour girl" image of the female are Hawaii's own distinctive and multi-cultural counterpart of Talcott Parsons' (1964) youth roles. (Meredith, 1965:47)

Vidich and Bensman (1959:87) theorize that the contributions to a polycultural local culture descend vertically, from preceding generations, and fuse horizontally, from other existing culture groups.

The literature's handling of the polycultural interpretation of *local* tends to limn a situation of all ethnic groups sharing and contributing and benefiting equally, without value judgments or conflicts, from an entity called "local culture." This perspective is similar to the once highly acclaimed melting pot theory. The polycultural references to local culture do not delve into the political implications of cultural interaction: which culture dominates; which culture changes the most; how much is sharing, how much is imposition; what kinds of interethnic and intraethnic attitudes are developed from these interactions.

#### *As a Value-orientation*

The approach to *local* as a value-orientation evolves from the conception of people's commitment to community and their acceptance of the related structure of interpersonal and business interactions.

Robert K. Merton (1949) analyzed the different value-orientations of "Local" and "Cosmopolitan" influentials in a community on the Eastern Seaboard. He found significant differences between the two in their structures of social relations, paths traveled to present positions, utilization of present status, and community behavior. Merton's conception of a "localite" is that of a person of provincial outlook and traditional community values.

A localite largely confines his interests to the community. He devotes little thought or energy to the Great Society. He is preoccupied with local problems to the vital exclusion of the national and international scene.

The localites have lived in town for a long time, are interested in meeting townspeople, don't want to move from town, are likely to be interested in local politics, etc.

The influence of local influentials rests not so much on what they know but on whom they know. (Merton, 1957:393-394, 400)

Herbert Gans notes that, "in developing his dichotomy, R. K. Merton suggests that for locals, social relationships are the principal aim and that ideas are used as means to them. For cosmopolitans on the other hand, ideas are essential and social relationships follow mainly with people who share the same ideas." (Gans, 1962:91) This difference parallels a basic difference between traditional Community and Association.

Terry Pickeral's definition of local, drawn from student research, also includes the value of commitment to community. This community, however, is not an actual town or neighborhood, or structure of interactions, but the abstract "Hawaii community." The commitment is not ascribed, but by choice.

Being local is having both a pride in things special to the islands of Hawaii and a desire to make Hawaii better by assisting in its improvements. (Pickeral, 1973:22)

#### *As a Form of Culture Creation*

The approach to *local* as a form of culture creation is by far the most comprehensive of the three

approaches. It incorporates aspects of the other two approaches and a theory about the influence of a combination of social forces on cultural patterns, in a model of culture creation in Hawaii.

A theoretical model, designed by Helen Liggett (1974), explains the emergence of a local culture in Hawaii in terms of (1) factors of high oppression and low compatibility in superordinate-subordinate (WASP institutions-ethnic groups) interactions, giving rise to culture creation by the subordinate group, and (2) a subordinate group (a subculture) characterized by a blending of aspects of disparate ethnic cultures. The model draws on David Rothstein's theory of culture creation. Rothstein evaluates interactions between subordinate and superordinate groups in terms of "Oppression" (high or low oppression by the superordinate group) and "Coincidence" (high or low compatibility between cultures of the two groups). Culture creation by the subordinate group occurs when there is a high oppression and low cultural compatibility. Liggett enlarges Rothstein's model by integrating subculture theory. Her model explains both the emergence of a local culture in Hawaii and its varying nature.

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Salient aspects of the approaches in the literature to *local* are on different conceptual levels. The label refers to distinguishing Hawaii people from mainlanders, to a blending and sharing of ethnic cultures, to a community value-orientation, and to an emerging multi-culture in reaction to an oppressive dominant culture. The dimensions of *local* handled by the literature appear to be identification, values, culture, and societal change. Integrating these dimensions produces a general picture of Localism in Hawaii. It is a composite of ethnic cultures, emerging in reaction to domination by Western institutions and culture, composed of people of Hawaii with community value-orientations. Although this picture provides a general understanding of Localism in Hawaii, it does not take into consideration the intricate mapping of "What is local to whom." This mapping is a task open for future study.

*A Function of Local Hawaii:  
Who Controls It? Who Appreciates It?*

Two basic understandings to begin with are that (1) a (singular type) local and a (singular) local culture do not exist in Hawaii, and (2) something termed "local," however, has particular significance to Hawaii. Rather than try to define the many different and changing perceptions of "What is local," the discussion is centered on the meaning Hawaiian society has attached to *local*. Or, transposed into different terms, what has *local* come to symbolize in Hawaii?

In a Hawaii marked by accelerated urban growth that has generated a strong sense of loss of community among many long-term residents, *local* has come to symbolize:

- people who belong to Hawaii--however defined--and their struggle to retain or regain control of Hawaii and its future;
- the appreciation by people who belong to Hawaii of the "goodness" of the land, people, and cultures of Hawaii.

A social symbol develops through the extension of collective need onto an entity identified with that need. These two symbols are not definitions of *local*. Rather they are evidence of certain collective needs of the people of Hawaii.

*Local: A Symbol of Self-determination*

Changes in social structure, the sense of loss of community, a decline in the quality of life, and the accompanying concern, worry, and desperation, have given rise to a movement by people self-defined as belonging to Hawaii (local people) towards regaining control of Hawaii and its economic, political and cultural future. Fueling this sensed need for local control is the vision that "We better do something before it's too late." It is a feeling, correctly based on fact or not, that non-local control is leading Hawaii to a place it must not go.

The black-and-white alternatives that are sensed are either control of Hawaii by people of Hawaii or control of Hawaii by outsiders. Control by people is symbolized by *local*.

Excerpts from a letter to the editor reprinted in *Ka Leo O Hawaii* (March, 1974) reflect vividly the passion underlying this sense of the need for local people to regain control. The letter is entitled "Haoles vs. Locals: Busting a Few" and was written by a Hilo College student after outbreaks of racially connected violence on the Hilo campus. The letter is an overstatement, a venting of the spleen. Its significance lies not in the specific points it raises, but in its implication that people are frustrated by their lack of control and feel the need to direct their resulting hostility at something.

Well look at my side of things. Suppose I came over to your house and said you weren't dressing right and you weren't living right and this and that. It's a lot deeper than that, I guess, but that's the way we feel.

You mainlanders come over here and try to run the show, and we are supposed to be your servants. The trouble is, we are slaves to your system. You've taught us to need your money and your conveniences, but we'll never respect you.

I get plenty burned up when I think of what's happening to my brothers and sisters and our island. But we still have our pride.

It makes my blood boil when I see all the hotels, stores, ships in our harbors, servicemen on our streets and tourists jamming up everything.

This student's perspective equates "outsiders" with mainland Haoles. To him, *local* is the in-group symbol and Haole is the out-group symbol.

Historically the struggle for control of Hawaii was between inter-Hawaii powers who were interested in keeping Hawaii relatively insular. Even the annexation of Hawaii to the United States in 1898 was predominantly a tactical move engineered primarily by business interests in the islands. Only since Statehood have large numbers of outsiders migrated to Hawaii, numerous outside businesses expanded and flourished in the islands, and tourists flooded into Hawaii, taxing the natural resources and the life styles of the people. The Haole-Local conflict, racial in appearance, is in reality only a blatant manifestation of a deeper conflict. The

Mainland Haole has come to be perceived--not because of what he is, but because of what he is doing collectively--as a threat to the local people's self-determination.

Any group falling into that role of threatening outsider is likely to face both overt and subtle hostility. The Hippies faced it. The Japanese investors faced it. People of the middle- and upper-classes are beginning to face it, as they are increasingly being cast into that role by disenchanted "have not" groups in Hawaii. From the perspective of people who see themselves as belonging to Hawaii, *local* determines positive and negative reference groups.

The perception of what needs doing by whom is often countered by a perceived lack of means of effective action. Much of the frustration surrounding the collective need to "regain control" is rooted in the vision that this task may be impossible, a sense that perhaps there are no adequate means to combat the threat. A twenty-one-year-old male conveys this sentiment.

Having been born in Hawaii I have seen the slow death of an island and its people. Rapid social change is leading our island to a confrontation it must face up to. People say why can't locals stop this madness. The locals can't stop it because they don't know how. We've been indoctrinated into believing that the system has people's interest at heart. They tell locals that they never had it so good. The people see this process as a fact of life. What they don't see is the genocide of the self. It is the death of my father who doesn't understand it and doesn't know how to get out.

Expressed in this passage is a feeling of extreme urgency over the need for local control, a feeling that is exacerbated by the sense that the task that needs doing has too many forces working against it.

Consequences of this sense of urgency can be found in policy decisions, daily activities, and spontaneous occurrences in many facets of life in Hawaii.

The University of Hawaii has been experiencing a period of financial austerity. Many program,

faculty, and administrative changes have been made. Pro-local sentiment on the part of policy decision makers has influenced several of the changes.

--An influential member of the predominantly "local" Board of Regents has indicated his desire to fill key positions in the University with "Local people who know the problems of Hawaii."

--With the stringent financial situation at the University, policy priorities have been made clear. In admissions, financial aid, and housing, local students come first.

With soaring inflation and continuing immigration, pressure has been exerted on government officials to carefully regulate both the flow of Hawaii's resources and the direction of Hawaii's growth.

--Welfare reform in 1973 was aimed at reducing the drain by transient non-residents on Hawaii's resources for Hawaii's needy.

--The Land Use Commission's boundary review hearings of 1974 were filled with hundreds of hours of vociferous testimony by numerous local community organizations and individuals against the rezoning of agricultural land for real estate development.

--Overwhelming public sentiment towards limiting immigration was reflected in the platforms of many 1974 political candidates--results of the "Hawaii Poll" published in the *Honolulu Advertiser* on November 3, 1974, showed that only 12 percent of Hawaii's people were opposed to limiting immigration.

Big business has been confronted by pro-local and anti-non-local sentiments. Some businesses have suffered from it, some have benefited.

--Hostility directed at Japanese investors, land developers, and big business in general, has been the consequence of the ostensible threat they present to Hawaii people's determination of the use of Hawaii's land, and the shaping of the future of Hawaii's communities.



--Bank of Hawaii has shrewdly calculated its television advertisements: "Bank of Hawaii understands ..." the needs of the local people. "We wouldn't want to be the bank of anywhere else ..." because local people are better than outsiders.

Trouble has been brewing in the public schools. Battles for control and supremacy between groups of high school adolescents have been intensified by the increasing power of non-local "out-groups." Conflicts between Haoles and Locals, foreign immigrants and Locals, and lower-class youths and middle-class youths have been increasing.

Sports has long been an area of intense interest to people of Hawaii. Only in the recent past, however, has big-time sports come to Hawaii. The maturing of big-time sports has been accompanied by the movement towards replacing mainland coaches with local ones, and recruiting "local boys" instead of mainland players.

Interpersonal interaction is the area in which local-non-local sentiments surface most often.

--Often the tenor of an initial interaction between a "local" and a stranger depends primarily on whether the stranger appears to be "local" or not. The stranger's personality is supplemental. A statement by a Waianae pig farmer portrays the feelings giving rise to this. "I no sell my special pigs to Haoles, only local people. Haoles no appreciate like locals."

--Among youths it is generally "in" to appear to be a "local who is in control." It is generally "out" to appear to be a "clumsy Oriental" or an "aggressive Haole."

\* \* \* \* \*

On the one hand, the collective public sense of the need for control of Hawaii by people of Hawaii, symbolized by *local*, is manifested in the assertion (summarized neatly by a second-generation Japanese American) that,

"Now, if ever, is the time for local people to shed their role of the past as apprentice to

'truly qualified outsiders' and accept the challenge to prove themselves."

On the other hand, it is manifested in reactionary beliefs that all those who are local are good and all those who are non-local are bad. On the one side is awareness and collective self-assertion, and on the other side is reaction and collective self-exclusiveness.

*Local: A Symbol of An Appreciation of the "Goodness" of the Land, People, and Cultures of Hawaii*

"Goodness" is defined by the *World Book Dictionary* as "valuable quality; best part." The growing appreciation of the "goodness" of Hawaii has been spurred in part by the collective sense that the unique and valuable qualities of Hawaii are becoming increasingly camouflaged by urban growth. An interview respondent expressed this sentiment.

"There is so much to discover in Hawaii. But we (people like myself) have to find it all before it's too late."

An implicit assumption of many of Hawaii's people is that the appreciation of the "goodness" of Hawaii requires a certain combination of sensitivity to and instinct about the land, people, cultures of Hawaii. There is a collective sense that this combination is rarely achieved by tourists, Malihini Haoles, or Hawaii people locked into an associational life style. Rather, this combination of sensitivity and instinct is found in the people "of Hawaii." *Local* is a symbol of the appreciation of Hawaii by people with this combination.

In one respect, this symbol is given rise by the large-scale identification with being "Local" and circular reasoning rooted in a strong in-group/out-group sense. If one is local one has an appreciation of the goodness of Hawaii. If one has this appreciation one must be local. This exclusive definition which in effect means that one is inherently either local or not, is rooted in the sense of struggle for control between locals and non-locals.

"The Japanese investors are the same as the mainland Haoles. They view Hawaii as a source of either investment or pleasure, not as a place of people."

"It takes a special understanding of Hawaii's history, its communities, its people, its cultures, to bring to life a side of Hawaii that outsiders here to exploit Hawaii can never appreciate."

What specifically is an appreciation of the goodness of Hawaii? Responses by individuals tend to be highly subjective and non-classifiable. In the interviews there was a wide range of unsolicited expressions of the goodness (unique and valuable qualities) of Hawaii.

"I never thought I could have such a love affair with Hawaii and its people. No place else can compare with Hawaii."

"The balanced give and take of the beaches and oceans, the mountains and flat lands, the rain, sun, sky, and air, the wild life and vegetation, are so much a special part of the Hawaii I love."

"The ocean is my friend. If you respect it, and don't challenge it, it will never let you down."

"When a local guy tells me 'eh, brah', I know we're brothers."

These kinds of highly subjective expressions of appreciation of the goodness of Hawaii, collectively have given rise to certain trends and events in Hawaii. At the heart of these trends and events is a camaraderie based on the sense that local people know what is really special to Hawaii.

A unifying theme in the many testimonies of local people and community organizations against further uncoordinated urban development of agricultural land, was "Ka Aina I Ka Pono" (the righteousness of the land), a phrase that was repeated to rally support.

Kalama Valley and Ota Camp\* aroused public interest and support. At stake was more than the

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\*'Kalama Valley' and 'Ota Camp' were "community struggles" that received strong public support. Pig farmers in Kalama Valley battled the Bishop Estate over their right to remain on their farms--their land leases had expired. Massive support for the farmers was based on the belief that housing

loss of two communities. At stake was the right of the peoples of Hawaii to cultural self-determination.

The birth of the Ethnic Studies\* program ("Our History Our Way") and the creation of ethnic history centers in various community centers were supported by the collective sense that the rich and varied story of Hawaii's people needed new understanding.

Canoe paddling clubs have proliferated. Surfing and fishing (despite pollution of the water and the scarcity of fish) have also increased markedly.

Gabby Pahinui and the Sunday Manoa, who have been elevated to the status of folk heroes, and the revival of the hula and Hawaiian music have managed to blend valuable aspects of a once dormant cultural past with the diversity and vitality of Hawaii of the 1970s.

Kumu Kahua (theater by and for local people) and the *Hawaii Observer* (a journal/newspaper dealing with current events in Hawaii) have grown from the need for creative cultural expression by people "of Hawaii."

These trends have matured through a growing appreciation for the land, people, and cultures of Hawaii by the "local people."

#### *Local: A Mechanism for Creative Compromise*

The struggle for control by local people is rooted not only in the ideological goal of self-determination, but also in the desire to halt the

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developments primarily for mainland Caucasians should not take precedence over the perpetuation of an economic-cultural life style of generations. 'Ota Camp' was similar. A Filipino community resisted the attempts of the government to relocate families in different areas of Oahu. At issue was community preservation and cultural self-determination.

\*Ethnic Studies was born out of controversy. Sit-ins and public support forced a University administration compromise and initiated the promise. Proponents of the program were bolstered by public and legislative support that grew from the general recognition of the need for "Ethnic Studies" in Hawaii.

total Americanization of Hawaii. The growing appreciation of the goodness of Hawaii is rooted not only in special insight into natural, cultural, and communal aspects of Hawaii, but also in the desire to perpetuate those aspects in the face of urbanization and Americanization.

On the one hand, people strongly oppose the development of Hawaii into a mere extension of American society, with everyone becoming assimilated into the American mainstream. On the other hand, people realize that Hawaii is in part comprised of American legal, educational, and economic institutions which will continue to influence the lives of Hawaii's people.

On the one hand, people of Hawaii want to revitalize and maintain the relational patterns and heritage of traditional community that are associated with the goodness of Hawaii. On the other hand, people realize that urban growth has made traditional community anachronistic to existing Hawaiian society. People want economic and social opportunities that traditional community cannot provide.

These ostensibly conflicting feelings and realizations form the dilemma of many people who are self-defined as belonging to Hawaii. They want to resist the trend towards total Americanization and yet the obvious alternative to total Americanization that they perceive, a return to traditional ethnic communities, is not viable in a rapidly evolving Hawaiian society. What role and identificational option provides people of Hawaii the means to (1) function in a society significantly influenced by American institutions while maintaining their cultural integrity, and (2) perpetuate certain values and norms of traditional community in Hawaii while functioning productively in an urban-community?

Large-scale identification with *local* has grown because being *local* offers a resolution to the dilemma. Being *local* assumes that while social, cultural, and economic changes are going to move the overall social structure of Hawaii further away from traditional community, the changes need not entail the total Americanization of Hawaii's people. *Local* is the mechanism that integrates aspects of traditional community, ethnic cultures, the realities of

an urban-community, and a commitment to Hawaii. *Local*, in this sense, provides people of Hawaii a role and identification option which enables them to strike creative compromise between both traditional Community and Association and a traditional ethnic identification and a fully American identification.

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POWER, POLITICS, AND POWERLESSNESS:

KOHALA PEOPLE AND THEIR FUTURE

Deborah Chang

This essay is from chapters 3 and 4 of Deborah Chang's independent tutorial project, a 134-page study entitled "Factors Which Possibly Account for the Inactivity and Seeming Resignation (Apathy) of Kohala People with Regards to Their Future," which shared the first Hormann Prize Award in Sociology, in 1975. In her first chapters, Ms. Chang describes the local history and economic conditions of the North Kohala district of the Big Island (population 3,326 in 1970), and presents extensive data derived from published sources as well as her own interviews and attendance at public meetings.

Ms. Chang was born and raised on the island of Hawaii and has close personal ties with many of the people who provided her data. In the preface to her study she asks that credit be given "to the open, trusting, sincere people of Kohala without whom this study would not have been possible. Treat their sentiments with respect for they are very real and exist whether you think they should or not. Use what you may gain from reading this study in ways that will benefit the people, people who are the actual experts on their own communities. The knowledge that has been so good-naturedly shared by the Kohala people must not be violated, lest we alienate those on whom we must depend for future studies aimed at improving the quality of life for us all. Mahalo."

The Editors

I. Power and Politics

The pattern of Kohalaan dependence is accentuated by political conditions. Economic power directly determines political power, and in the case of the Kohalaan, economic helplessness leads to political helplessness. Political initiative on the part of private citizens in Kohala is also stifled in part by the nature of their community and the reactions people have toward their powerlessness.

*Bases of Power and Political Influence in Kohala*

Political influence in Kohala tends to be concentrated in the hands of a few who have the abilities to communicate with outside institutions through their self-confidence, technical and administrative skills, and personal contacts. As a result the large number of Kohalaans who lack these abilities are heavily dependent upon a few people to be their spokesmen. Thus the desires of most of the people are not necessarily represented by those who are in positions of power and influence in the community.

Major landowners in the district have acquired the political and monetary ascendancy which gives them the power to initiate or suppress changes in the community. For example, Kohala Corporation\* sets its own terms on land leases which by their very nature sustain control of land and ranching in the hands of other large landowners. Residents can only hope for liberal terms and are not in the positions to exert coercive action. Dissatisfied Kohalaans are simply told, "If you think Kohala Corporation land is too restrictive, try State land" (Agricultural Meeting, July 3, 1975). Land is a precious commodity especially in Hawaii where land values continue to rise. Land ownership is beyond the means of the average citizen. Major landowners are closer to governmental sources of decision, and their accessibility to larger institutions and agencies outside of the community gives them perspectives and personal contacts which enable them to determine significantly what the community's future will be (cf., Vidich and Bensman, 1968, p. 100).

Another example involves about 538 acres near Mahukona which were sold in 1970 by Richard Smart, owner of Parker Ranch, to Signal Properties which sold them in 1971 to Kahena Beach Inc., a subsidiary of Finance Factors (*Hawaii Tribune Herald*, 1973a). The proposed International Heart and Lung Institute which will be on ten donated acres of this parcel was endorsed (with only one dissenting vote) in October 1973 by the thirty-five member North Kohala Community Association. This Institute is envisioned by Kahena Beach Inc. to eventually lead to a \$129 million resort development on the remaining 528 acres. If this proposal is approved it will lead to the birth of a major urban

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\*A subsidiary of Castle and Cook, Inc., established in 1971, shortly after Kohala Sugar Company's announcement of plans to phase-out sugar production.

center in an area which presently has a mere handful of scattered residences from Mahukona nearly to Kawaihae. This is an example of how great a land-owner's power is in determining how an area is going to change. In this case the change would certainly be a dramatic one! The Mahukona-Kawaihae coast is filled with historic sites and artifacts. The Institute would be situated adjacent to the Lapakahi State Historical Park which is contradictory to the aims of historic site preservation which call for buffer zones from other modern intrusions around park areas to help preserve and create an authentic historic environment (State of Hawaii, 1972). The coast is also a prime fishing area. . . .

There are numerous contradictions and bases for objection to this development, but a few Kohalaans have given their approval in preference to an oil refinery which has also been proposed for the district (*Hawaii Herald Tribune*, 1973b). Skilled technicians, maintenance and service workers will be needed for the Institute, and in the words of K. Mung Yee, Honolulu financier and member of Kahena Beach Inc., Kohalaans will be trained where possible, and the "local people" will control the Institute development rather than "Mainland Haoles" (North Kohala Community Association Meeting, September 1973).

Political paralysis results when a group does not have the technical knowledge to make their desires felt by the political machine (Vidich and Bensman, 1968, p. 123). Kohalaans tend to rely heavily on a select few individuals who have administrative skills to represent them. In this way they surrender control of the community to a small number of people. Some of the older residents had to quit school at an early age to work for the plantation to help support their families. Inadequacies in reading and writing handicap a person's abilities to participate in local affairs, and feelings of inferiority increase this powerlessness. I have seen derision among individuals at a community meeting in response to a person's use of "pidgin" English. This also acts to discourage participation. People feel that important business is best left to important people who have the abilities to express themselves properly in speaking and writing.

There are also more recent immigrants in Kohala, notably Filipinos, who are limited in communication outside of their native tongues. Those who have the skills and self-confidence to assume leadership roles are usually those who have higher paying jobs and more

education. These people have the abilities to correspond with outside agencies, abilities so essential to the community's affairs which necessarily involve outside institutions. When certain Kohalaans find Kohala Corporation leases "too restrictive," they inquire about State land and are overwhelmed by regulations, restrictions and procedures. Concrete proposals are required by landowners as well as loan companies in order to get an idea whether it would be too risky to lease land and lend money to an applicant. "Farm Plan Projections," just by the sound of the words, seem too complicated, and in the absence of help from experts some Kohalaans are inclined to give up in disgust. People with the money and technical knowledge are expected to be more vocal. These people become spokesmen for other Kohalaans, because people believe they have the power or influence to make their desires known to the governmental system.

Labor union leaders often speak for the community. After World War II unionism in Hawaii rapidly gained the support of plantation workers throughout Hawaii. The union unified people in common dissent against ethnic and economic inequalities which were then even more pronounced than they are now. Between 1948-1958 sugar workers' wages increased from 44 to 74 percent making them the highest paid agricultural workers in the world and bringing wages to levels comparable to industrial wage rates on the Mainland. The union also achieved victories in government and thus became an even more effective spokesman for the people. Unions put an end to paternalism by plantation management, and instead union officials took the place of plantation owners in distributing benefits to the workers (Fuchs, 1961, pp. 354-376). In this way dependency of the people on the plantation elite in part shifted to the union elite.

Today in Kohala residents have a great deal of respect for what the union has been able to achieve for workers in the past. "Plantation bosses really kept the people feeling stupid, but unions have changed this" (Respondent, June 6, 1973). At the same time some Kohalaans feel that perhaps the union "slit its own throat" now that Kohala Sugar Company is closing operations. Demands for higher wages, more paid holidays, and sick leave pay beginning with the first day, some believe, have hastened the plantation's end. Union "bosses" in the community (as I'm told by a respondent) are not respected by many residents. They have poor reputations for drinking, being lazy, driving fancy cars, etc. No doubt rumors are elaborated upon,

but it appears that with the plantation's projected close, the local union may be largely inactive as the people's spokesman in the absence of plantation business.

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#### *Politics and Politicians*

Kohalaans vary in their attitudes toward politics and politicians from great distrust and suspicion to complete trust and confidence in government. Both of these sentiments lead to increased political dependence for the Kohalaan who either rejects participating in "dishonest" politics or believes that government cares for the people's interests and will do a fine job without help from the people.

Politicians and politics are viewed by many Kohalaans as corrupt and dishonest. These anti-government beliefs can operate to exclude people from participating in community planning. Rumors of "pulling political strings" are attached by some to particularly the Japanese who through personal contacts allegedly obtain favors that put others at a disadvantage. The governor is thought by some to favor Japanese. Task Force money is therefore given to rich Japanese instead of other less fortunate people. Through rumors which are easily widespread confirming suspicions people already have in political leaders, people are prompted to stay at home rather than participate in something "crooked." "I don't want to bother with them. They're crooked." "All they say is lies." (Respondents, March and August, 1973.)

Kohala is distant from other communities on the island, and the seat of County government is in Hilo, 90 miles away. The State government is even more remote in Honolulu. State and County officials do not appear often, and when they do, they are viewed suspiciously as politicians and outsiders. Politicians appear on public business, but because the people play such a limited role in decision making, public business becomes private with important decisions being made in distant Hilo or Honolulu. Distrust of government and the feeling that political pull and money are more powerful than the average resident was also found in Burdette Bostwick's and Ilima Piianaia's study in Kohala. It has been suggested in that study that greater openness in public affairs and efforts to educate the public on plans or problems should be taken to bring political decisions closer to the people (Bostwick with Piianaia, 1972). . . .

While some Kohalaans feel alienated and intimidated by politics and politicians, others have great faith and trust in the system. While some residents feel the Kohala Task Force has done nothing to help Kohalaans, others feel that government has "bent over backwards." Some residents have shown considerable naivete with respect to politics and economics, and this rather innocent trust is bound to be disappointed and could lead to further disillusionment in some cases. Some relevant examples: "Architecture of the resort buildings should blend in with our surroundings, not like those concrete jungles in Waikiki. I am sure that with our district so rich in Hawaiian history, we could succeed in such a venture." "I'm sure they'll be careful to meet pollution standards [in relation to the proposed oil refinery]." "Condominiums in Kapaa will provide badly needed housing for Kohala" [although a conservative estimate given in May 1973 for a one bedroom unit was \$32,000]. In a community meeting in June 1973 a resident suggested that the planned gym and swimming pool for Kamehameha Park would be more economical to build as one complex rather than separately, to which one of Kohala's County representatives replied, "They must have reasons for it." In these examples can be seen a tendency in some residents to place unquestioning trust in powerful institutions to do the right thing. Some residents also show an unfamiliarity with governmental and economic systems when they think high-priced condominiums will provide housing for Kohalaans, or when they approve tourist-oriented and commercial developments as long as no bars and "honky-tonk" establishments are built. People do not know about land zoning, and what kinds of development are permitted in certain zones.

#### *The Planning Process*

Through the Kohala Community Association and its approximately fourteen committees the Kohalaans can express their desires and opinions about proposed economic alternatives for the area. In Community Association meetings which are usually held once a month, Kohalaans are notified as to the progress of new projects underway or what new proposals have come before the Kohala Task Force for consideration. . . .

But one of the major problems facing the Community Association was (and is) the lack of community participation. The Association's meetings and committees weren't getting enough response from residents to know what the community's majority opinion was. So with respect to proposals for tourist development, a provocative issue among residents, the Association on two

occasions circulated questionnaires through the local plantation newspaper, "Ka Maka o Kohala," which goes to every boxholder in Kohala. The results of these surveys were later reported in regular meetings and used as an indication of public sentiment. The first survey was mildly successful with about ninety-four questionnaires returned. Some were signed by several people, and twenty-six questionnaires were returned with letters of further explanation. The second survey produced forty-eight responses. When the question of whether or not to support the proposed tourist development for Kapaau came to a vote at a meeting, many people abstained from voting, and approval was given for the development based on the second survey and the vote (North Kohala Community Association Meeting, June 26, 1973). Because response from residents is so limited, decisions rest in the hands of the few who get involved. In addition to the scanty survey results, community leaders rely on general moods or sentiments which they feel exist in the community. But knowing what the people want remains guesswork under the Association's present methods.

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On September 13, 1973 the State Senate Interim Committee held a public hearing to receive a progress report from the Kohala Task Force and reactions from residents. . . .

The many officials and businessmen who came to give presentations were "outsiders" to the community. Their separateness from local residents was made more apparent in their manners of dress and speech. Before Kohalaans were called upon to speak the Task Force gave its progress report, and businessmen outlined their projects for Kohala. These officials and businessmen (among others) are whom the Kohalaan and his family must depend upon for their area's future. To the Kohalaan these are outsiders who have come to tell the people, "This is what your future will be." These are the outside experts with the powers to decide. This meeting was really a direct confrontation between the governors and the governed. When important decisions are made for Kohala in far away Hilo or Honolulu the process is impersonal and difficult to relate to. But in this meeting in his own district the Kohalaan perhaps for the first time could personally see the planning process in action. Perhaps this served to bring feelings of powerlessness closer to home and more difficult to evade psychologically. Kohalaans were more critical in their questioning and less accepting to the proposals presented. Two Hawaiian men got up

separately to voice their anger and frustration. Their outbursts of emotion triggered more expressions from other residents. Feelings were expressed by these men which are ordinarily saved for a more private audience. Ethnic antagonisms were voiced against "Haoles" perhaps because of feelings of intimidation in the presence of so many outsiders. "I'm an expert too!" said another. While many present were shocked and disgusted by these exclamations, they opened the way to further discussion. Many of the people at the meeting no doubt felt that those men would have done better to keep their mouths shut, but beneath their sometimes irrational statements were significant emotions and motivations which are shared by others who keep such feelings to themselves or reserve them for intimate groups.

## II. Forms of Powerlessness-- Self-Created and Induced

The evident lack of participation in community planning on the part of Kohalaans tends to give many the impression that the community must be inflicted with a widespread case of apathy. However a look at a simple statistic on the high home ownership rate in Kohala indicates that perhaps more caution is merited before judging this situation. Home ownership has given many Kohalaans an investment in the area's future. With many considering themselves permanent residents, they are bound to have very strong sentiments with regard to how they would like the area to change. After months of study aimed at uncovering the possible explanations for Kohalaans' inactivity, I have formulated a hypothesis based on my findings: *Feelings of powerlessness lead many Kohalaans to abandon attempts to effect desired changes in their environment.*

Most Kohalaans appear to be pleased with their "country" environment and the various forms of recreation and private projects which are possible in such an environment. These activities contribute to their styles of life which many wish to retain and strengthen. But if this is to become a reality, more jobs must come to the district. Keeping the primary family unit together through expanding job and educational opportunities for the young, is a cherished hope for many, but this can be achieved only through major changes in the district which could considerably affect other aspects of life. Thus many Kohalaans are faced with the major dilemma of how to achieve economic rejuvenation of the

area and at the same time retain the intimacy of family and community which is attributed to country life.  
 . . .

#### *Powerlessness and Dependence*

There are a number of ways in which Kohalaans are economically dependent upon others for their future. They must rely on large businesses to bring the employment so essential to their family's continued residence in Kohala. Equally as critical is the job training which must be made available if Kohalaans are to continue to maintain and improve their living standards through skilled employment. It is unlikely that businesses originating in the community will be able to provide sufficient jobs, so Kohalaans are necessarily dependent upon larger companies for their future welfare.

Attempts to create self-employment and independence are made by small farmers and ranchers who must acquire the basic economic necessities to make even a small farm or ranch successful. Land, water and working capital are among the necessities without which a farmer or rancher cannot survive. For these he must depend on major landowners' terms for leases, state and county initiative in water development, and loan companies, banks and other institutions for financial assistance. So even in their attempts to create employment for themselves, certain Kohalaans are faced with what must often seem like insurmountable difficulties. Our inflationary economy is further weakening the Kohalaan's buying power as well as his abilities to make major investments or establish credit for loans. Those interested in agriculture are also subject to problems seriously affecting the industry as a whole. Additionally small agricultural undertakings must compete with larger, more efficient businesses for markets and financing, a competition which puts the small farmer or rancher at a great disadvantage. One can either resent or accept this dependence. Often these reactions lead to a withdrawal from community planning.

#### *Obstacles to Political Action*

Along with economic control usually goes political control. Large companies, major private landowners and more prominent citizens have the *monetary power, administrative skills and personal contacts* which enable them to more easily influence political decisions. This isn't to say that the average private citizen has

no political power. However certain factors particular to the Kohala situation function to discourage or impede many Kohalaans from exerting unified political action. The pattern of dependence can be seen in Kohala's *lack of leaders*. Only a few people have assumed leadership positions, resulting in much duplication of leadership across several groups and organizations. Leaders tend to be those who have more technical skills and contacts which enable them to communicate with outside agencies and institutions, a communication which is vital to local affairs. These people are usually those of higher social class standing with the skilled jobs and education which in part determine their social positions. Political paralysis results when a group does not have the technical abilities or the organization to make its desires known to government. Many Kohalaans thus rely on experts and spokesmen to speak for them, surrendering power of community affairs to a few leaders who may not represent the majority of Kohalaans.

Perhaps this tendency to rely on others is related to *paternalism* which has and still does exist in Kohala in many forms. Community services which were once issued by the plantation now come from other sources like the union, the state and the county. Community affairs were once managed by the plantation, and perhaps Kohalaans still lack the valuable experience in managing their own public business which could improve their abilities to act now. Another factor which operates to discourage leadership roles among Kohalaans is the ideal or norm of "*friendship among equals*." This norm seems to indicate that members of a group may remain friends as long as they are social equals, and no one attempts to do anything which may be interpreted as a way of gaining importance or superiority over the rest.

Ethnic and class divisions which were in the past intentionally reinforced have left their marks on Kohala's present society. The divisions which exist today are not as pronounced as they once were, but the effects of the old system can be seen in *feelings of inferiority* and the *lack of self-confidence* which discourage Kohalaans from assuming positions of leadership or unifying to strengthen their political influence. Many Kohalaans assume passive roles, because they simply do not have the confidence in their abilities. Political action is then left to those who are thought to be more qualified through experience and education.



It is sad that so many Kohalaans do not realize that they are the only ones truly "qualified" to make judgments about what their community's future should be. Not only are potentials for leadership suppressed, but so are the followers without whom a leader can accomplish little. Kohala's distance from government seats reinforces the impersonality of the political system. Important decisions are made far away by important people. This way citizens often do not realize how essential they really should be to the planning processes. Additionally Kohala's dispersed population makes it difficult to keep issues and the interest of the people alive. Issues tend to lose the interest of the people after indefinite delays. Thus there are many factors which potentially impede unification among Kohalaans in order to make their desires known to the political machine. Many of these factors stem from the kind of society which exists and has existed in Kohala.

#### *Self-Created Powerlessness*

The Kohalaan further accentuates his powerlessness without realizing it by reacting to his dependence in certain ways. A person can either deny or accept his dependence, and both kinds of reactions can lead to a withdrawal from community planning. Suspicious and distrust of outsiders and "corrupt" politicians prompt certain Kohalaans to reject participating in community planning which they feel is controlled by the dishonest. Beliefs in the deceitfulness of influential people could be a way of rationalizing the resentment they feel when they sense their relative powerlessness to determine Kohala's future.

Disgust and disillusionment with government are frequent reactions to the numerous delays in funding which have plagued such essential projects as the Grain Research Center and historic site development. From the standpoint of many Kohalaans a great deal more has been said about future proposals than has actually been accomplished. Many have become disillusioned and disgusted with the lack of progress and have eliminated themselves from the planning process. It is not surprising that those Kohalaans who have tried to assume more responsibility for their future (i.e., small farmers and ranchers) and found it a defeating enterprise, would react in disgust and give up attending community meetings. Unwittingly they increase their powerlessness by withdrawing from community planning.

People may also react by burying themselves in their personal activities and projects. "Psychological defenses" are ways in which the Kohalaan can psychologically evade his feelings of dependence by reinforcing his pride in his area and way of life. The Kohalaan may resent the cultural, economic and political dominance of outside urban areas, but often he will rationalize his comparative powerlessness through beliefs in the inherent superiority of country lifestyles and environment over a city's. By refusing to recognize his dependence on the outside, the Kohalaan is able to proceed with his daily life with feelings of satisfaction and accomplishment.

Acceptance of powerlessness can also function to eliminate Kohalaans from political processes. The belief in "self-chosen dependency" is a basic denial of change. That is, some believe that when new developments come to Kohala, they will not disrupt Kohala's inner life, and the area's rural atmosphere and style of life will not change. Thus the Kohalaan believes he is not really needed in the planning process, since new developments cannot help but be beneficial to the area. This faith in Kohala's eventual success is also strengthened by many people's trust in the governmental system to see that Kohala's future is a prosperous one. Unfamiliarity with economic and political systems and realities enable some Kohalaans to accept their dependency by placing complete trust in others. The tendency to accept one's dependence and leave important decisions to those who "know what they're doing" is related again to paternalism and operates to eliminate Kohalaans from the planning process. By assuming that community planning can do without the help of Kohalaans, it becomes much easier to remain preoccupied with one's personal projects and activities while vital planning stages come and go in inconspicuous, poorly attended meetings.

There are many factors contributing to the inactivity of Kohalaans in community planning. I have separated them for the purposes of analysis in this study, although in the community setting certain factors undoubtedly reinforce one another and become mutually dependent. Kohalaans can even inadvertently create their own dependencies, but there are also very real dependencies on more powerful institutions and people which contribute significantly to feelings of powerlessness. These factors too often lead Kohalaans to abandon attempts to effect desired changes in their environment.

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## THE CONTRIBUTORS

Andrew W. Lind, Ph.D., is Emeritus Senior Professor of Sociology at the University of Hawaii at Manoa (UH-M). Bernhard L. Hermann, Ph.D., is Emeritus Professor of Sociology, UH-M. George K. Yamamoto, M.A., is Professor of Sociology, UH-M.

Libby O. Ruch, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor of Sociology and Women's Studies, UH-M. Susan M. Chandler, D.S.W., is Assistant Professor of Social Work, UH-M. Milton S. Bloembergen, Ph.D., is Professor of Sociology, UH-M. Ted M. Gugelivk, M.A., is an Academic Advisor with the UH-M, College of Arts and Sciences, and is a graduate student in Social Work, UH-M. Larry K. Stephenson, Ph.D., was a Professor of Geography at the University of Hawaii at Hilo (UH-H), and has moved on to the Department of Geography, Arizona State University. Amy A. Miyashiro was an honors undergraduate student at UH-Hilo. Gary A. Fuller, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Geography, UH-M.

Michael G. Weinreich, Ph.D., is Assistant Professor of Sociology, UH-M. Eric Yamamoto, J.D., was an undergraduate student at UH-M, and is a lawyer with Case, Kay and Lynch, Honolulu. Deborah L. Chang, M.S.W., was an undergraduate student at UH-M, and is a social worker with Child and Family Services, State of Hawaii Department of Social Services and Housing, Public Welfare Division, Kona.